

GENTRIFICATION PROCESS IN DKI JAKARTA PROVINCE INDONESIA

Santy Paulla Dewi



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I live in Semarang, but I know so well about kampong Kramat Asem-Jakarta since 2000. A place where my husband was born and raised, and a place where my husband's family lived. Every two months I visit my mother-in-law for about a week, I also interact with neighbours around her house; most of them are Betawi. Each morning I buy breakfast in front of my mother in law's house and have a chat with them. But, since 2005 our neighbours began to sell their land. Their houses were demolished and replaced by modern houses with high-gated. I know the name of our new neighbours, but never once talked with them; just say hello when passing in front of the house. This condition continued until now; our neighbours were gone one by one, there is no longer vendor who sells breakfast near my mother-in-law's house, there is no longer children playing around. It is become quite. .

I witnessed our Betawi neighbours who had sold their houses now they come back here to seek a job. After they sold their houses, they tried to find a job for several years. However, they could not earn enough money compare to when they lived in Kramat Asem. So they returned to Kramat Asem to work. Mpok Yani for instance, she was one of my mother-in-law's neighbours who had previously helped my mother-in-law in catering business. In 2006 the family sold the house and divided the money for her and her siblings, and then she moved to Parung, Bogor. She tried to find a job in Parung, yet it was more difficult. Then in 2010 she returned to Kramat Asem and asked to my mother-in-law to help her businesses again. Therefore, every day she set off early from Parung to Kramat Asem by KRL (a regional train) for 2 hours trip. This is the life she should take to survive.

It further drives me to look deeper into the kampong changes, the decrease of Betawi people who have for decades lived in this kampong. My previous research were also related to the provision of houses, the housing backlog, community preference regarding housing homeless and urban demography. My research continues on gentrification after reading several journals about gentrification. My heart says that what happened in kampong Kramat Asem is a real portrait of the process of gentrification. However, research on gentrification in Indonesia is very rare. On the other hand, many local governments use gentrification as an approach in the development of the city, without explaining how and providing guidelines on how the gentrification was adopted.

The use of gentrification as a method in the development of the city area is inversely related to perspectives on gentrification in Western countries. Displacement as a direct implication of gentrification considered to eliminate the people's rights to live in their original place. Enriching understanding of gentrification I got from Prof. Dr.-Ing. Annette Rudolph-Cleff as my supervisor. Not only because her competence in the field of urban regeneration, but also for her patience and feedback given to strongly supports the conclusion of this dissertation. Some great advices I got from Prof. Dr. phil. Franziska LANG, Prof. Dr. Nina Gribat, and Prof. Dr. Christiane Salge during the disputation and the discussion. All of them are urban planning experts who give me another perspective related to gentrification. Thank you very much. Besides, discussions and academic atmosphere in the Faculty of Architecture (FB 15) TU Darmstadt were also very helpful in preparing this dissertation. My Fellow PhD Candidate in FB 15, Erika Yuni Astuti, Wakhidah Kurniawati and Niken Sugiri, they were my partners in discussing this issue and giving mutual encouragement.

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*Santy Paulla Dewi
TU Darmstadt, October 2016*

ABSTRACT

Gentrification is a gradual transformation process of the neighbourhood by the government, individual renovator and others. Changes on the physical and social economy aspect of the neighbourhood, and displacement are the indications of the gentrification. Kampong Kramat Asem as one of decaying areas in DKI Jakarta Province was inhabited by Betawi people for decades. Their existence has susceptible along with the increasing of land price and standard of living; they do not have any legal land certificates, they were less skilled and less educated, they do not have a permanent job and less paid. Voluntary displacement had chosen by the local community and moved to another kampong, whereas some of them chose to stay. The local community who stay in the kampong deal with some changes such as new neighbours, new life style, new houses, etc. Long-term gentrifier and medium-term gentrier shape the neighbourhood differently; they have a dissimilar characteristic such as length of stay, income, education and relationship with the community. This research tried to figure out gentrification process and its implication in this kampong. An in-depth interview and field observation were conducted to gain the information from the community. Before and after analysis used to explain the neighbourhood transformation. As a result, gentrification in kampong Kramat Asem was led by the gentrifier as individual renovator. They renovated the house and support the improvement of some infrastructures. The presence of the gentrifier does not generate any conflict with the local community. Both of them have community flexibility and willingness to accept gentrification inconvenience. Yet, the local community who stay is facing the pressure of the gentrification; they can displace any time. Therefore, it needs government role in the process of neighbourhood transformation to keep of any problems such as poverty, homeless, and social conflict. The government needs to ensure that all of the community live in the proper house and its facilities; gentrification does not beneficially to one party only.

Keywords: gentrification process, displacement, the local community, gentrifier

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Aufwertung ist einer Gegend durch Renovierung oder Zuzug von Sozial besser gestellten. Sie wurde Schritt für Schritt bei der Regierung, privaten Erneuerer, usw. veranstaltet. Veränderungen in den physischen und Sozialökonomischen Aspekten der Umwelt und deren Verschiebung sind ein Indikator von der Aufwertung. Kampung Kramat Asem, in dem Betawi lebt nach den Jahrzehnte, wird ein Elendsregion im DKI Jakarta bleiben. Ihre Existenz wird durch höhere Bodenpreise und den Lebensstandard bedroht. Sie haben keine rechtliche Eigentumspapiere, wenige Fähigkeiten, minderwertige Gebildeten. Sie haben leider kein festes Job und keine feste Einkommen. Einige von ihnen sind aus eigenem Willen einen Umzug nach anderem Dorf umgezogen, ausserdem einige von ihnen verweigerten und bewohnten da noch. Die Menschen, die noch da bewohnten, passen sich Änderungen wie zum Beispiel neuen Nachbarn, neuen Lebensstil, neue Häuser, usw. an. Kurz - und Langfristig Aufwertung bildete der Umwelt zu anderen Form; sie hat verschiedene Eigenschaften wie zum Beispiel Dauer des Aufenthalts, Einkommen, Bildung und Sozialesleben. Diese Forschung versucht den Prozess der Aufwertung und ihre Auswirkungen jenes Dorf zu erfahren. Ausführlichen Interviews und Feldbeobachtungen haben durchgeführt, damit Informationen aus der Bewohner zu erhalten. Analyse der Umweltsveränderung hat von A bis Z gemacht, damit die Veränderung erklären wird. Die Aufwertung im Dorf Karamat Asem wird infolgedessen die private Erneuerer geführt. Sie renovieren Häuser und unterstützen die Verbesserung einiger Infrastrukturen. Die Erneuerer bekommen keine Verwigerung und keinen Stoß mit den Bewohner. Beide (Bewohner und Erneuerer) haben die Flexibilität und die Willigkeit auf unbequeme Aufwertung zu akzeptieren. Doch die Bewohner bekommen absoluten Druck gegen Aufwertung; sie könnten irgendwann vertrieben deshalb es braucht notwendige Rolle von der Regierung um Veränderung der Umwelt und alle Probleme wie Armut, Obdachlosigkeit und sozialprobleme zu antizipieren. Die Regierung sollte sicherstellen, dass alle Menschen in angenehmen Verhältnissen leben. In diesem Fall sind angenehme Häuser und auch die Einrichtungen; Aufwertung hat nicht nur einen Vorteil für eine Gruppe beibringen.

Schlüsselwort : Aufwertung, Umzug, Bewohner, Erneuerer

"Live as if you were to die tomorrow. Learn as if you were to live forever."

- Mahatma Gandhi

"To educate woman is to educate the future"

- Queen Rania of Jordan

Glossary

- Betawi** : indigenous ethnic group of Jakarta
- Betawi pinggir** : Betawi people who has less formal education and concerned on religion education
- Betawi tengah** : Betawi people who concerned on formal education
- Commuter** : someone who travels regularly from home in a suburb to work in a city
- Dangdut** : popular Indonesian music and dance style with a characteristic drum groove
- Gentrifier** : newcomer in a gentrifying neighbourhood and replaced the local community
- Idul Fitri** : Eid Al-Fitr, one of the Muslim feast
- Jakarta Health Card** : a Health Insurance program given by Jakarta Provincial Government through Jakarta Provincial Health Office to the public in the form of medical assistance
- Jakarta Smart Card** : a card (in the form of debit card) which given to poor student so they can buy books, uniform and other school needed. This card provided by the Jakarta Provincial Government in cooperation with DKI Bank.
- Kecamatan** : district
- Kelurahan** : sub-district (the lowest administrative government in Indonesia)
- Kampung** : village
- Khataman Al Quran** : the ceremony that held after finished reading the Qur'an
- Lenong** : Betawi's theatrical form
- Ondel-ondel** : Betawi's form of folk performance using large puppets
- Orang gedong** : high-income class of Betawi people
- Orang kampung** : low and middle-income class of Betawi people
- Pengajian** : Muslim's recitation (Qur'an recital)
- Pesantren** : Islamic Boarding School
- Ramadhan** : fasting month
- Rebana** : Indonesian single-head frame drum
- Sunatan** : celebration for boys who already khitan (a male circumcision which carried out as an Islamic rite by Muslims)
- Tanjidor** : a Betawi arts in the form of orchestra
- Trans Jakarta** : a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system in Jakarta that provide by the DKI Jakarta Province government since 2004.
- Takmir** : a mosque committees who selected by the community
- Yustisi operation** : an population operation which held by the Jakarta Provincial Government after Eid Al-Fitr to catch the newcomer who came to Jakarta without clear identity; do not hay ID card.

Abbreviation

ADB	:	Asian Development Bank
Bappenas	:	National Development Planning Agency (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional)
BOS	:	School Operational Assistance (Bantuan Operasional Sekolah)
BPJS	:	Social Security Provider (Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial)
BPS	:	Central Bureau of Statistics (Biro Pusat Statistik)
BURA	:	British Urban Regeneration Association
CBD	:	Central Business District
DAK	:	Special Allocation Fund (Dana Alokasi Khusus)
DAU	:	General Allocation Grant (Dana Alokasi Umum)
DKI Jakarta	:	Special Capital Region of Jakarta (Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta)
Jabodetabek	:	Jakarta Bogor Depok Tangerang Bekasi
PAD	:	Own-Source Revenue (Pendapatan Asli Daerah)
PKPS-BBM	:	Fuel Subsidy Reduction Compensation Program (Program Kompensasi Pengurangan Subsidi Bahan Bakar Minyak)
Puskesmas	:	Health Centre at Sub-district Level (Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat)
RT	:	Neighbourhood Groups (Rukun Tetangga)
RW	:	Several Community Groups (Rukun Warga)

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Transformation of Urban Development Policy and Its Influence on Housing Provision Policy

1.1 Rational Background

1.1.1 Urban Development in Indonesia: from Centralized to Decentralized

Gentrification is a neighbourhood transformation process related to government's urban development policies. The government interventions were done through several development programs, then influence the physical, social, and economic aspects, further, it led gentrification. In addition, urban development policies are also affected by adopting governance system. The implementation of urban development policies in Indonesia had experienced an important period, it can be seen after the Indonesian government established Constitution No. 22 year 1999 which later revised with Constitution No.32 the year 2004 about Local Government in Indonesia. Based on this regulation, development and financial matters which used to be centralized shifted into decentralized system. Decentralization means delegations of authority from the central government to local government or an autonomous region(based on Constitution No.32 the year 2004). The autonomous region must arrange and handle all of their government affairs and public affairs based on laws and regulation. Each autonomous region tries to increase income region in order to build infrastructures and to provide proper facilities for the community by tax intensification and attract private investments. The main goal of this regulation is to make equitable development so that all of investments and facilities not only focus on central region but also in the local region. Furthermore, it is also facilitating community to get better public service.

Implementation of decentralization and autonomy are still facing many constraints, both from the central government side and local government side. Human resources

and financial are the main constraints faced by local government (www.bappenas.go.id). Less skills and lack of experts resulting in many local governments' program cannot be executed. Local government is considered incapable to perform the authority, whereas lack of financial makes local government cannot afford to provide infrastructures and increase society welfare. Local region development is financed from general allocation fund (DAU) which is from central government and local revenue (PAD) which pursued by local government itself. In fact, most of the local government has been demanding on their financial support from DAU because their PAD is low. It means that local governments are still depending on the central government in the implementation of development and increasing society welfare. Local government cannot afford to maximize their PAD because lack of investment in local region, low tax investment, corruption, and less inter-region cooperation (high level of region individualism)¹.

All constraints above made investment in local region are not running well, improper facilities and unpreparedness of government staff are considered as a big constraint for investors. Hence, most of the investments go to the central region in Jakarta – central region in Indonesia—which has two functions both as the capital of Indonesia and as an autonomous province. Jakarta as a center growth for surrounding area has proper facilities and infrastructure attracting people to come and to find a job. It can be seen from urbanization level in 2010 reached 49,8 % and predicted 68 % in 2025 (m.tempo.co).

¹ In decentralization system, autonomous government fund the development by DAU (*Dana Alokasi Umum*) or general purpose fund which and DAK (*Dana Alokasi Khusus*) or specific purpose grant. DAU is income from central government to realize the equal development; each autonomous region got a different share that determined based on locally-generated revenue (*PAD*). Province that had small PAD got more share than province with high PAD (source of PAD are tax revenue and natural resources exploitation). This DAU gives to reduce gap among the autonomous region. While DAK is income from central government to support some specific infrastructures development based on central government policy. Therefore each autonomous region got the different share; emphasized to the central government priority goal.

1.1.2 Gentrification in Jakarta : Implication of Housing Demand Enhancement

Jakarta is a magnet not only for people of surrounding area but also for Indonesian people to look for a job. It is caused by the high level of investment which needs many workers. The newcomer in Jakarta are not only from professional workers but also from unskilled and uneducated people (working-class). While professional workers work as lawyer, accountant, civil servant, and other formal sectors, the working class works as industrial workers, housemaid, construction laborers and other informal workers (megapolitan.kompas.com). Most of the working-class came to Jakarta after the Eid feast. In 2016, 70.000 working class come to Jakarta to look for a job (bisnis.liputan6.com). This number increases compared to 2014 which the number of working-class newcomer reached 60.000 every year (www.tribunnews.com). DKI Jakarta government has already anticipated this phenomenon by several programs such as *yustisi* operation² and population development program, yet it did not work well.

Increasing of population number makes infrastructures and facilities demand in Jakarta rise significantly including housing demand. Each social class has their own housing preference based on their ability to afford it. In 2015, the minimum wage of DKI Jakarta province is 2,7 million³ rupiahs,- (jakarta.bps.go.id, 2015). However, the working class is paid less than 2 million rupiahs that make their housing preference are limited. Affordable housing price is mostly located in Jakarta peripheral region such as in Bekasi, Tangerang, Depok and Bogor which quite far from their work location. As a consequence, they should pay more on transportation cost. The working class chooses to stay in the inner city which is generally located in the kampong. Whereas professional workers which have a salary more than 5 million

² *Yustisi* operation is DKI Jakarta government program to control the population number by collecting data from the newcomer. Newcomer who has a legal identity is allowed to stay in Jakarta, while newcomer who does not have legal identity will be repatriated to their hometown. This program was stopped in 2013 by the government and replaced by population development program. This new program tries to organize the newcomer by giving legal identity card with some requirements such as legal mutation letter from the previous area, proof of house ownership, and proof of occupation.

³ DKI Jakarta Province has the highest level of provincial minimum wage standard in Indonesia, and in 2016 the standard increased by the government 14,8 % or 3,1 million rupiahs (<http://bisnis.liputan6.com/read/2358308/upah-minimum-dki-jakarta-tertinggi-dari-16-provinsi-ini>)

rupiahs per month, they have more options for their housing preference. Nevertheless, with this salary, they still cannot afford to buy a luxurious apartment or exclusively planned residential in the inner city. Therefore, the only rational solution is to stay in inner city kampong. Although most kampongs are lack of water supply network, sanitation, and waste infrastructures, its located adjacent to the main road which means very accessible with public transport connections, also highway, and railway connections. As already well-known, Jakarta is facing severe congestion level (bisnis.liputan6.com), so that accessibility becomes the most important reason for many newcomers to choose housing location.

The presence of professional newcomer in inner-city kampong influenced the Jakarta's local community - Betawi society by giving more pressure to this society such as increasing of the standard of living and competition to occupy a house. The local community mostly receives salary under minimum wage of DKI Jakarta Province standard so that they are categorized as the poor community. As a result, many Betawi community sold their house for surviving to the middle-income newcomer and moved to the peripheral region. Later on, their previous place changed into flat, office (tower), and individual house with proper facilities. This process occurs until now which makes Betawi society existence start to decline and changed by the newcomer.

Based on the previous explanation, it can be identified that gentrification occurs in Betawi neighbourhood indicated by displacement and transformation of social economic aspects. Displacement of Betawi community continues and makes population mobilization in the kampong running fast. Many newcomers attracted to reside in the kampong and started to renovate the house, then shape the neighbourhood differently. They shifted the house into many boarding houses and tenements, to attract more people to stay (tenants).

1.2 Significance of The Study

Betawi society is one of the oldest tribes in Indonesia that was formed in 17th centuries (www.jakarta.go.id). Their existence is spread throughout Jakarta, such as in East Jakarta, South Jakarta, and Central Jakarta. They still keep their culture until now. They have their own language, traditional dresses, custom house, traditional food, and another certain characteristic. From social economic aspects, most of them have more than two children and tend to live within their big family. The existence of Betawi society who lived in kampongs in inner-city began shifting by the newcomer since 1970 when the government held massive development in Jakarta (www.kompasiana.com). This displacement occurs until now and makes the number of Betawi society continue to decrease which is less than 25% from all of the DKI Jakarta population (www.kompasiana.com).

Based on Jakarta's spatial plan, the development of DKI Jakarta Province focused on some areas such as East and West Jakarta also Kepulauan Seribu which many housing complexes, apartment, office, and tower were built in this area. This research takes place in East Jakarta as one of development priority area and populous administrative region of Jakarta Province. East Jakarta consists of 10 districts (*kecamatan*) and 65 sub-districts (*kelurahan*) with number of population reached 2.687.027 (jakarta.bps.go.id, 2013). Research area concerns in Kelurahan Utan Kayu Selatan as the populous district in Matraman district.

Betawi society was a dominant figure in Kelurahan Utan Kayu Selatan since 1930 where 90% of the population was Betawi tribe, and the rest are Javanese tribe and Chinese. Nowadays, Betawi society in this district remains only 10 % and replaced by newcomer from other tribes in Indonesia such as Java, Kalimantan, Madura, and Malay. They moved to Jakarta's peripheral region like in Bekasi, Tangerang, Depok, and Bogor with a broader house. They sold the house because they need money to survive. More than 70 % of their income spent on daily needs so that they could not afford to give education for their children. Likewise, they could not afford to improve

the house either. Some of them chose to stay in inner-city by renting a room or bought unclear ownership land with a cheap price.

The previous place of the local community changed into a proper environment with the regular street, off-site drainage, and better housing condition. Moreover, this transformation had also influenced by newcomer (gentrifier) who bought Betawi society's house and totally renovated it. They live in kampong together with the rest of Betawi society who stays. Even though gentrifier had already have a house, slowly they bought another house which is sold by their neighbour (Betawi society). This situation made a number of Betawi society in Kelurahan Utan Kayu Selatan decreases significantly.

Displacement process that still occurs until now is changing spatial structure of Kelurahan Utan Kayu Selatan. It can be seen from street and housing pattern. Moreover, it also changes social economic structure and population distribution. The government saw this process as a positive thing because the physical environmental quality is better than before. Likewise, the economic condition which is seen from community's per capita income also rise. Yet, not all of the community receives the positive implication of gentrification. It can be seen that it is gentrifier (the newcomer) who receives more benefit than the local community itself. In fact, the transformation of the neighbourhood is perceived by gentrifier (the newcomer) and local community who stay. While most of the local community were displaced.

The transformation of the neighbourhood did not get any supports from the government, because the kampong included as an unplanned settlement. Therefore, development of kampong Kramat Asem relied on the gentrifier and local community, because support from another actor (private sector) was distributed occasionally, thus it made the improvement of the kampong was not well distributed. Based on this fact, it can be identified that gentrification in the kampong was led by individual renovator (gentrifier). On the other hand, gentrification in the West or other Asian countries are mostly caused by some government urban renewal projects in the decaying area, in order to make the neighbourhood quality and value increased. Yet,

gentrification study is led by individual renovator (self) is limited; they renovated the house and contributed to infrastructure improvement. Therefore the main research question is **“How do gentrification process led by individual renovator and its implication to neighbourhood transformation?”** This main research question is derived from several questions, such as:

- a. How do housing and infrastructure provision in DKI Jakarta Province?
- b. How does gentrification process led by individual renovator (community)?
- c. To what extent does gentrification change the social, economic, spatial and distribution aspects of the neighbourhood? What should the government be aware of related to the changes?

1.3 Research Objective

Goal

The primary goal of this research is to figure out the gentrification process led by individual renovator and its implication to the transformation of Kampong Kramat Asem, Jakarta. This investigation was conducted by determining key actor of gentrification, influx capital that occurred, land use and land ownership transformation, analyzing population distribution, examining the social and economic transformation.

Output

The output from this research is a thorough comprehension about neighbourhood transformation because of gentrification initiated by the community. Besides, it can be generated how gentrification affects the existence of local community and its influences to the social, economic and spatial aspects.

Significance for Indonesia

Gentrification is an unpopular term in Indonesia. It can be seen from few number of gentrification studies that has been conducted by the researcher. On the contrary,

some of the local governments adopt gentrification as a method to develop and to revitalize their city. Yet, they do not possess any justification or any guidance of how gentrification will be executed. It means that gentrification encouraged by the government meant to enhance the neighbourhood quality. This gentrification is identified occur in kampong Kramat Asem and led by gentrifier; as unplanned settlement, there were no supports from the government in order to improve the neighbourhood physically. Therefore, the output of this research is not only show the gentrification's process, but also the implications that useful as government's consideration to formulate better urban development policy.

1.4 Scope of Investigation

The scope of this research is limited by two aspects such as research area and research substance. As mentioned before, this research took place at Kelurahan Utan Kayu Selatan, East Jakarta. There are some reasons why this location was chosen as research area such as:

- Located in the populous district and in the most populous administrative region in DKI Jakarta Province. As a populous district, this area also has high population density, it was reached 34,4 person/km² in 2013 (data.go.id). It means that competition to get a house in this area is very intense. Likewise, the pressure for the local community to adapt to the situation and the changes of circumstances has also increased.
- Previously the inhabitant was dominated by Betawi society (90 % from all of the population were Betawi society)
- Displacement of Betawi community as a direct impact of gentrification is found in this area and continue until now.
- The environment improvement seen from the provision of proper facilities and infrastructure after newcomer inhabited the area.

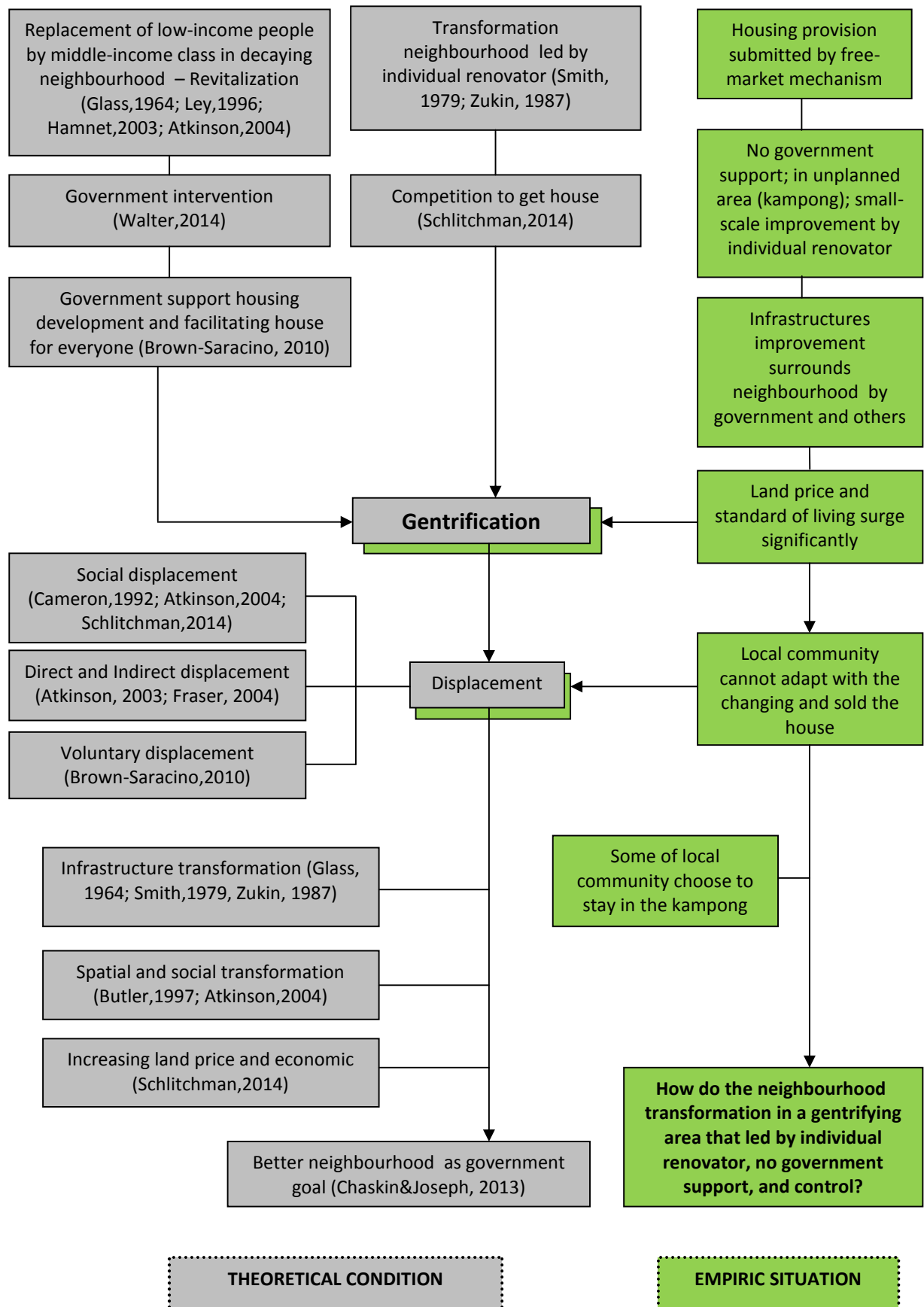
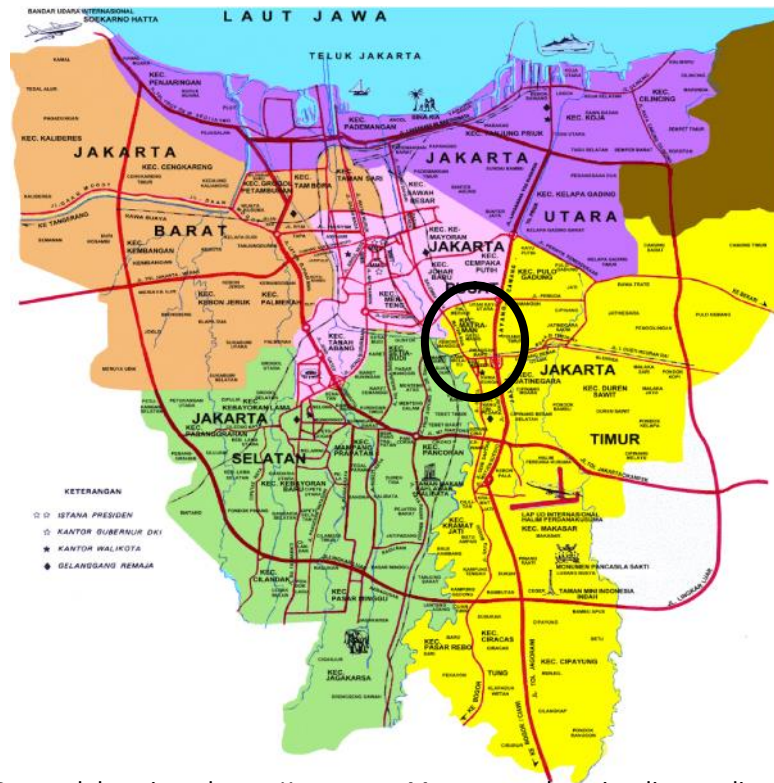


Figure 1.2 Design of the research question

Source: Author, 2014

Research substance as study limitation goes to the several aspects such as:

- Both local community and gentrifier are shown as one identity, which is a community in a gentrifying area. It is because they are related to each other (Elias, 2001;16).
- Characteristics of the local community and gentrifier are reviewed from income levels, job, educational background, and length of stay. It also divides by residents and ex-residents group (Slater, 2004)
- Division among income groups in the society can be distributed based on the comparison between society income and poverty line (Freeman, 2008). The poverty line for DKI Jakarta Province in 2013 was 434.322 rupiahs per capita per month (bps.jakarta.go.id)
- The time period to analyze the gentrification based on Indonesian milestone; before and after the economic crisis (1998). Multidimensional crises that occurred in 1998 changed political, economic and social aspect significantly; many people were jobless while new professional and creative job worker were needed, changed in economic growth, changed in a number of poor people. Some government policies to handle this crisis led the middle-income bubble that became the highest community number (nasional.kompas.com). This new community class with their lifestyle shaped differently in political, social and economic aspects. Likewise, this class had also encouraged the gentrification.



○ : Research location chosen Kecamatan Matraman where is adjacent directly with Jakarta Pusat (Central Jakarta)

Figure 1.1 Research Area in Matraman District, East Jakarta

1.5 Conceptual and Methodological Approach

The analysis process in this research used comparison method (before-after analysis) to find out the changes of spatial, social economic and population. This analysis is also used to identify the emerging of gentrification. It can be seen from the physical condition such as the transformation of environmental quality, population and house density and land use. Besides, an in-depth interview also used to gain information about the growth of area and community perception regarding the changes.

Gentrification process is seen from:

- a. The role of government (policy of housing and infrastructures provision), investors, private developers, gentrifier, and local community. Identifying the role of all actors in the area is to find out the key actor of gentrification and the causes of gentrification. It also showed the position of gentrifier as individual renovator among other actors.

- b. Gentrification process revealed from changed in population distribution and displacement.
- c. Transformation of spatial, social economic and population aspects as the implication of gentrification can be seen from job shifting, changed of house and land ownership, transformation in educational level and income, even lifestyle (consumption). These changes reflected how far gentrification has affected the society.

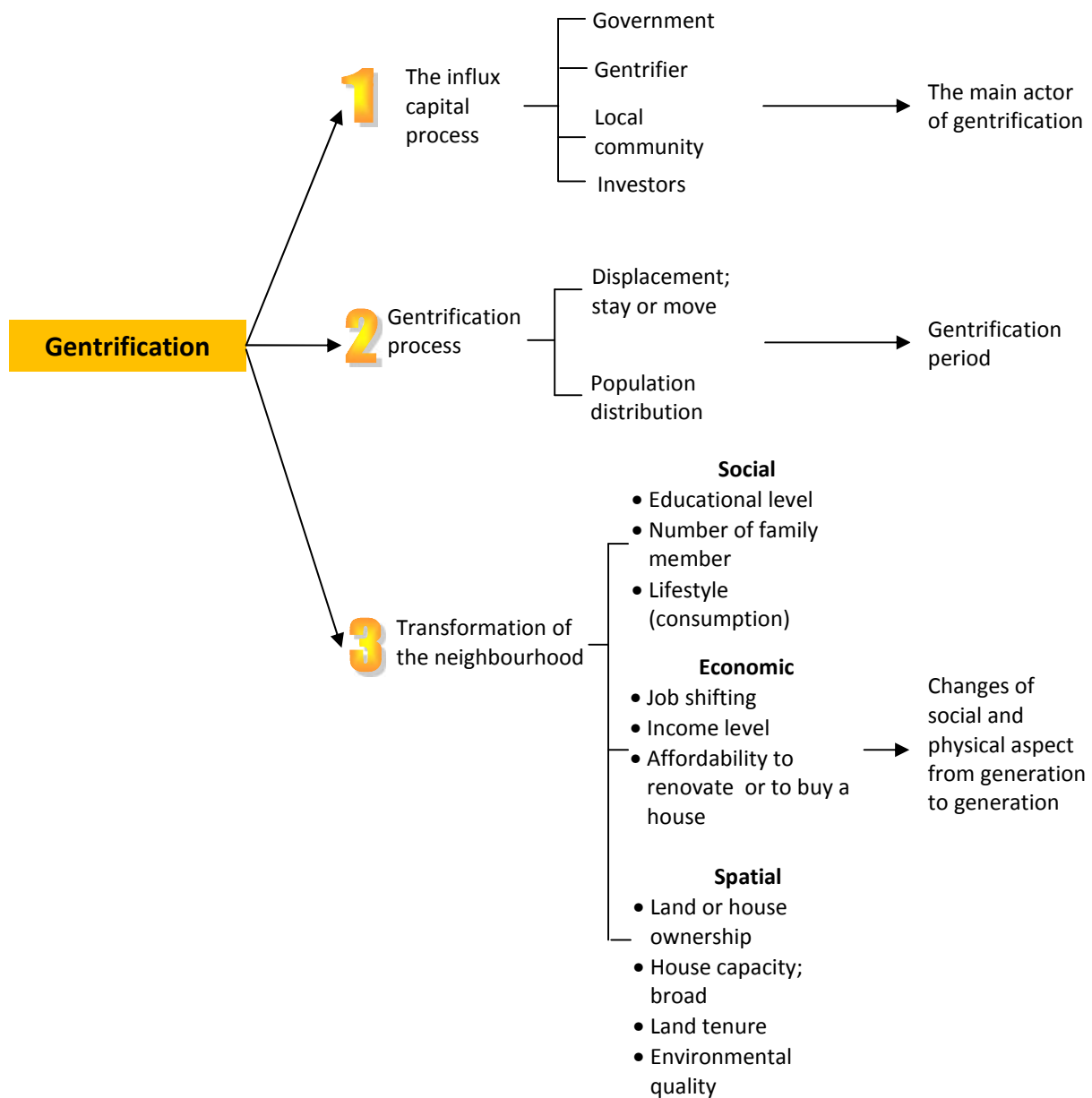


Figure 1.3. Elements of Gentrification Process

Source: adapted from Smith, 1979

1.6 Limitation of The Works

Some studies stated that gentrification research could not be similar from one place to other places (Zukin, 1982). It is because each case of gentrification has its own characteristics. This research can be differed from other works from the factors which triggering gentrification and the characteristics of the gentrified community. Most gentrification caused by influx capital from the government, investors or developer in decaying area then changed the environment to be better. However, this research identified that gentrifier and local community had the dominant contribution to the emergence of gentrification. Betawi community as one of the oldest tribes in Indonesia has its own characteristics; dissimilar from the culture, tradition and education level and relationship. Therefore the output of this research cannot be compared to others, yet it gives more information and enriches gentrification research. The time frame of this research was limited from before and after multidimensional crises in 1998 which considered able to illustrate the changes. It was because of the limitation of data. Eventhough it also employed an in-depth interview to gain more detailed information and the data related to the condition of the first generation of the local community who occupied the kampong since they were born (some of them born before Indonesia's Independence Day-1945). In one side, this time framing made the research focused on the condition and the transformation which occurred. On the other side, this period made the research could not capture past condition maximize.

1.7 Chapter Outline

This research report is divided into some chapters to give a comprehensive discussion and to clarify each point.

- * **Chapter one** describes the initial discourse and the related issue gentrification linked to urban development and housing provision policy to give a contextual framework; gentrification in this research is seen from demand perspective or related to increasing of competition to get a house. Gentrification in this case

was indicated by individual renovator, not the government. Besides, it also gives a brief description and discussion of Betawi society as the local community that presented to provide a firm basis.

- * **Chapter two** reviews the relevant literature about urban development concept and urban transformation, also about gentrification as urban development impact. Finally, several viewpoints on the gentrification causes, proses and the implication are described.
- * **Chapter three** elaborates the research strategy and analytical methods. The explanation is divided into two parts. The first part provides the basic argument regarding the selection of a research strategy. The second part then elaborates upon the methods of analysis and tools of data collection. This part consists of three sections, each concerned with a research question and an accompanying discussion of data collection methods and data analysis.
- * **Chapters four** gives a general overview of urban development in Indonesia, the government policy related to development, history and transformation of Betawi society as the indigenous tribe in DKI Jakarta Province.
- * **Chapter five and six** contain the findings of the research. These chapters analyze the gentrification process by comparing social, economic, demographic, physical and spatial aspects before and after gentrified. This comparison used data from depth interview both the local community and gentrifier. As a result, it reveals gentrification stages and the transformation of the research area. It also explains why gentrification exists in Betawi neighbourhood.
- * **The concluding chapter** presents reflections on several dimension of gentrification. This final chapter also references the study's findings in order to examine current urban development policy. In revisiting urban development strategy, this chapter also invokes the theoretical framework, related issues, and research questions posed and answered by the study to indicate its contribution to existing knowledge. Furthermore, by comparing the findings with the major issues of gentrification discussed in the literature, this chapter also presents several ideas for future studies.

CHAPTER 2. A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Gentrification Definition, Causes, Process and Consequences

2.1 The Definition of Gentrification

Gentrification can be found everywhere. None of the city cannot avoid from gentrification process because it is a natural form of a life cycle of cities (Smith & William, 1988 : 206). Likewise, each neighbourhood's experience of gentrification has its own story (Zukin, 1982: 6). The gentrification process related to the urban development background, characteristics social and economic of the community, and government policies. These aspects shape gentrification differently in place and time.

There are various definitions of gentrification, one of which refers gentrification as back-to-the-city process and similar with revitalization. Such Williams (1984: 65) who preferred to call gentrification as back-to-the-city-movement or neighbourhood revitalization instead of gentrification. Whereas The 2000 *Dictionary of Human Geography* (Smith, 2005) shows that gentrification as the reinvestment of capital at the urban centre to produce space for a more affluent class of people than currently occupies that space. Yet, some experts distinguish gentrification from revitalization, especially with regard to the displacement process of the working class replaced by the middle-class. This process is called classical gentrification (Glass, 1964). On the other hand, Desena (2009: 10) has shown that in some cases gentrifier is not from the middle-income community but from the high-income group of people.

Generally, gentrification can be seen from two perspectives that differed with regards to the emphasizing of housing stock transformation and displacement of poor and working-class residents. The first perspective justifies that gentrification accordance with increasing of housing demand in the city due to population number rising. Housing development followed by such facilities and infrastructures conduce environmental quality of the area, land and housing price. As a result, gentrification

occurs. This perspective is convinced by some gentrification researchers that gentrification takes place in a slum, neglected, disinvested and devalued neighbours (Lees, 2008). The second perspective emphasizes on the consequence of urban development that is displacement. Emerging of gentrification is starting from capital investment (development) in the neighbourhood that devalued than increasing of land price. Development process conducts by constructing new houses and many urban facilities in the place where the local community live. They displaced naturally and moved out to the new place where still close to their previous neighbours.

There are some discourses which equate gentrification and urban renewal. It is because among gentrification and urban renewal have a similar outcome that is neighbourhood upgrading. However, some researchers distinguished gentrification from urban renewal. The dissimilarity can be seen from the process whereas gentrification occurs in a gradual process and slowly, urban renewal do in the short term and directly can be seen the result. Gentrification is a reconfiguring process of consumption landscape and residence in a neighbourhood area which displacing poor people. This poor people cannot afford to stay in revitalizing area with rising rents and property taxes.

There is definition chaos of gentrification (Atkinson, 2003). It is because the definition of gentrification still becomes discourses and debates because of dissimilarity of perspectives. Some definitions of gentrification emphasize on the displacement process of the long-term resident and replaced by gentrifier (Brown-Saracino, 2010; Slater, 2004). In this perspective, gentrification seen as “negative” term which eliminated local community’s right to reside in their previous place. While another perspective, defines gentrification as influx capital in inner city which already decayed (Atkinson, 2003; Warde, 1991). This definition was seen gentrification as a process to transform the neighbourhood in social economic and physical in a better way.

Whereas some researchers define gentrification from the consequences, from demand side; some of them interpret gentrification from its outcome or supply side.

No.	Definition	Source	Emphasize
1	An influx of capital and resultant displacement and the transformation of local “social character”	Glass, 1964	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displacement of local community because of some interventions • Neighbourhood’s characteristics transformation
2	Capital investment leads displacement and transformation of culture, amenities and physical infrastructure	Warde, 1991	
3	An influx of capital and resultant social, economic, cultural and physical transformation and displacement	Atkinson, 2003	
4	Displacement of lifelong residents by gentrifier who do not share long-timers’ racial or class identity. The displacement leads not only by individual renovators but also government officials.	Brown-Saracino, 2010	
5	Emerging of middle-class and professional who purchased space and changes of zoning law. It transforms local economic, social and cultural aspects.	Zukin, 1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Middle-class gentrifier • Working-class neighbourhood’s • Neglected neighbourhood’s
6	The process by which working class residential neighbourhoods are rehabilitated by middle-class homebuyers, landlords and professional developers.	Smith, 1996	
7	An economic and social process whereby private capital (real estate firms, developer) and individual homeowners and renters reinvest in fiscally neglected neighbourhoods through housing rehabilitation, loft conversion and the construction of new housing stock	Perez, 2004	
8	Gentrification refers to the disruption of social ties and loss of affordable housing that accompanies the middle class colonising of working-class neighbourhoods.	Slater, 2004	

Table 2.1. Definitions of Gentrification

Source: Adopted from various sources, 2014

In this research, gentrification definition is adopted from Atkinson (2003) which considered as influx capital process in the inner city and transformed the neighbourhood. Moreover, it is also related to displacement process of long-term resident. Justification to adopt this definition because of empiric situation had shown

a displacement of Betawi community as long-term resident and replaced by newcomer from other cities in Indonesia. Besides, kampung Kramat Asem is categorized as an informal settlement or decaying area which did not equipped with some infrastructures. This situation was changed after the presence of newcomer in this kampung. It indicates that there is neighbourhood transformation. On the other hand, there is no any conflict among communities in this kampung though they came from different cities and different tribes. This empiric situation shows that gentrification in kampung Kramat Asem did not relate to social gap (social class conflict).

The gentrifying neighbourhood can be determined by its characteristics; physical, social economy and population. Smith (1976) revealed that gentrifying neighbourhood can be specified from the population number such Urban Land Institute research shown that city with the population more than 50.000 was experiencing gentrification. Likewise, Freeman (2005) and Lipton (1977) assigning gentrifying neighbourhood from the location in inner-city – range from CBD two miles, household income, settlement land use since 20 years before, community's educational background and tendency of increasing housing price. Moreover, specifying neighbourhood that experiencing gentrification by the definition, such as neighbourhood located in inner-city, inhabited by working-class (low-income) residents, disinvestment or devalued area and displacement. The other characteristics of a gentrifying neighbourhood can be seen from physical transformation which has better quality in housing and neighbourhood; socioeconomic transformation; tenure which was seen from renting to owning; and transition of population (Hamnett & Randolph, 1988:121).

The definition of the neighbourhood itself is distinct territorial of a group which can be classified by the specific physical characteristic of the area and the specific social characteristic of the inhabitants (Glass). There are several aspects to determine a neighbourhood such as (Keller, 1968, 87):

- Geographical boundaries; in the form of physical appearance such as river, streets, railways, park and other physical forms
- Ethnic or cultural characteristic of the residents
- Psychological unity among people who feel that they belong together; having the same feel of kinship (relationship) because they come from the similar hometown, similar job or similar preference
- Concentrated use of an area's facilities for shopping, leisure, and learning; layout of streets, facilities and infrastructure

Gentrification shapes the transformation of social, economic and spatial aspects of the neighbourhood and vice versa. The history of gentrification showed that economic shift of the city and political condition also influenced to the process of gentrification. Urban development changed from manufacture-based to service-based make occupational pattern had also changed. It was attracted a new professional group to come then housing demand increased. This situation supported with government endorsement and privatisation of housing and public services. The gentrification period can be seen in the picture below.

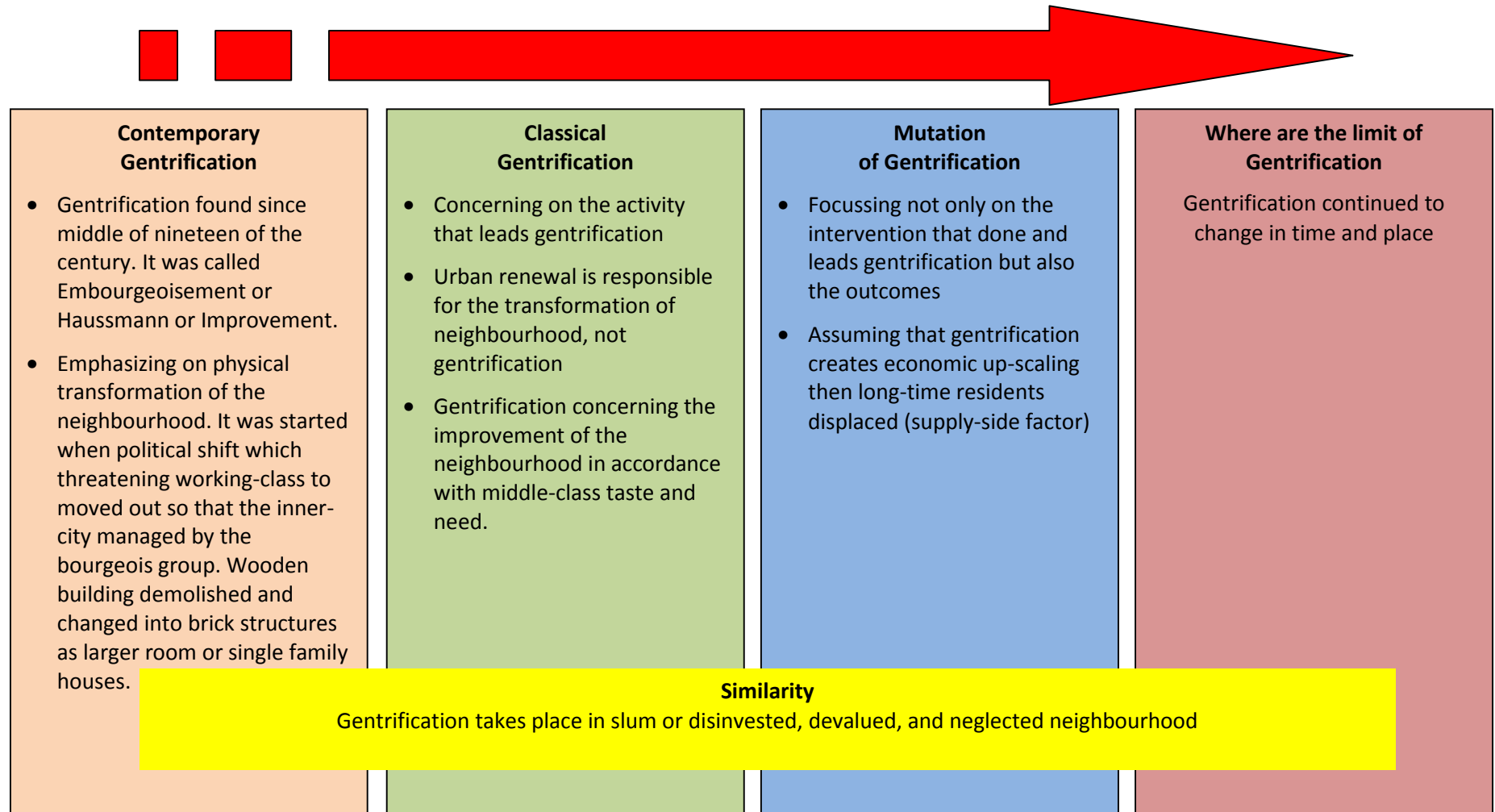


Figure 2.1. The Period of Gentrification

Source: Adopted from various sources, 2014

2.2 The Causes of Gentrification

Gentrification triggered by urban economic transformation such as industrialization, surging of the professional worker who migrated and increasing of urban management and technical (Marcuse, 1988: 154). In the 1960s, the urban development shifted from industrialization to service-based led the rising of new middle-class who have new kind of job position. This society has their own lifestyle and chooses to live in inner-city to get closer with the urban facilities. On the other side, government and private developers invested many infrastructures and facilities to serve the people. Investment in inner-city rose significantly, housing investment is included. New flat and new residential are built in inner-city with proper facilities. This situation attracted many newcomers to come and gave pressure to the long-time residents (local community). As a result, gentrification started to occur and caused spatial transformation.

Gentrification can be revealed by the causes which differ with regards to production or supply side factors and consumption or demand side explanation. (Brown-Saracino, 2010: 64). Supply side factor emphasizes on housing development by developer attract newcomer. Furthermore, this housing supply changes the spatial pattern and land value (Millard-Ball, 2000). The existence of newcomer and changes of neighbourhood give pressure to the local community. As a result, they displaced and moved out. Whereas demand side concerning on the increasing of housing demand. Urban development which is characterized by many investments creates many new job positions. Therefore, it attracts many professionals to come who also need a house to live. Competition to get a house makes the local community displaced. Likewise, in classical gentrification, urban development leads competition to get land and house rose significant and made the standard of live increase.

Gentrification can be caused by many factors such as development service economy, changing lifestyle preference, the suburbanization of capital and the depolarisation of capital investment (Walters & Mc.Crea, 2014). Hence, it can be seen that gentrification is differed with regard to suburbanization. Suburbanization is one of the

processes that can lead gentrification. Moreover, in suburbanization, there is population migration from inner city to suburban. Whereas in gentrification emphasized on the displacement of local community by gentrifier.

Gentrification process related to land speculation. The gentrifier will buy a house which tends to surge in the future as their investment (Smith, 2005). It makes housing demand increase and housing development grows significantly. This situation causes the neighbourhood grows not only many new residential but also public facilities, such as a hospital, school and supermarket. Development such urban facilities determines as an opportunity to get much money for private developers due to changes of gentrifier's lifestyle that more consumptives. Gentrifier has urban lifestyle such as going to restaurant not cook at home, shopping in supermarket and going to the cinema not watch TV or DVD at home. Therefore, gentrifier's lifestyle transformation is in line with land use transformation.

Private developers had seen increasing of housing and urban facilities demand as an opportunity to extend their activities. They do as speculators which buy land or houses that sell by the local community. However, private developer attitude is in accordance with government policies that support neighbourhood development activities. Government policies and regulations lead private developers and investors to invest in gentrified neighbourhood by giving some incentives such as property tax and bureaucratic assistance (Brown-Saracino, 2010:7).

Private developers and government officials (policies) are not the only factors that lead gentrification. Yet, gentrification also leads by the investment of real estate by individual renovators. Individual renovators here refer to the gentrifying community not only local community but also gentrifier. Gentrifier who already has a house still bought another house. Then they renovate the house properly to be rented or sold. Some of them also renovate the house into minimarket, shops or restaurant. The renovation makes housing price surge significantly. Likewise, local community improves their house and make into a boarding house. Their previous house is divided into main house for themselves, and the rest disport into many rooms to be

rented. This boarding room is mostly rented by gentrifier in their first career (have not afford yet to buy their own house).

Previously, it reveals that investment attracts many professionals to work and to live in the city. However, there are other reasons that make gentrifier move to inner-city, such as:

- Financial security

Urban development that concerns in the inner-city create varies job opportunity. Therefore living in the city means to get money easier than in suburban area and secure their job

- Preferable location

Proper facilities and infrastructures connect people in a simple way

- Accessibility / amenity

Gentrifier chooses to live in inner-city to get close to their office so that they can save time and transportation cost. Public transportation provision has also increase amenity to live in the city

- Involvement/proximity with people who have the same character

Meeting and chatting with other people who have the same hobbies, the same favourite foods and drinks are convenience. Watching films in the movie, drink coffee in the coffee shop, fitness in sport centres and shopping in the supermarket with friends are such activities that can be done in the city. Many urban facilities provide and related to their needs.

2.3 The Gentrification Process

Gentrification research so far only focuses on the outcome or implication. Yet research which concerns on gentrification causes or process characteristic is still limited. It is because each place has unique characteristic so that the causes of gentrification also can be varied. Some researchers define the rise of gentrification from many perspectives with different emphasizing. Ley (1996) and Hamnet (2003) revealed that transformation of urban development pattern from manufacture based

to service based as the roots of gentrification. It creates a new pattern of job then attracts a new class of group. Likewise, Ley and Butter said that gentrification emerged not only from the raising of middle-class but also the transformation of cultural orientation and preference. While Smith (1979) has a different perspective that raising of middle-class as a new group in the neighbourhood is not the cause of gentrification. The main cause of gentrification is the increasing gap between property values and land values (rent gap) in the inner-city. This gap makes local community cannot afford to pay then displaced and replaced by the middle-income group.

Gentrification concept is identified as occurring in inner-city because of the environmental quality degradation is shown by many slum areas. As a result, governments demolished the buildings and replace with new-planned buildings and proper facilities (Less, 2008: 5). This situation contributes to increasing land price and land value. The process of enhancing environmental quality has caused some displacements of the working class who originally lived there. They have to move out because they cannot afford the land.

Gentrification is a long process caused by urban economic growth. The city changes from manufacturing to servicing and attracts professional, technical and management field expert come to find a job. As a result, housing demand surge significantly and give the spatial consequences. Developing of many urban facilities to meet gentrifying community's need gives advantages not only for investors but also gentrifier. The existence of gentrifier and private developers role are interdependent, it is called mutually supportive.

Gentrification process occurs because there is a pioneer as a triggered. The pioneer of gentrification can be from the government who supports the people to have a house then gives an excuse to the investors or private developers to build residential. Giving incentives such as lower tax for development activities, housing loan, and low property tax are some incentives from government related to urban development. It can be inferred from the previous statement that not only government who can be a

pioneer but also private developers who built the neighbourhood. Pioneer of gentrification also can be from many actors who are elaboration from private developer attitude, government policies and also housing market. Furthermore, this elaboration leads the economic growth of the neighbourhood which is followed by social transformation.

The transformation of social, cultural and political can be seen in the early stage of gentrification because it is a real and a direct implication from intervention from the pioneer of gentrification in urban development. A local community who displaced and replaced by gentrifier changes the structure of the population. Local community cannot afford to adapt with neighbourhood transformation so that they move out and choose a new location where the land price is cheaper than their previous place. Yet, not all of local community in the gentrifying neighbourhood are displaced. Whereas most of them are choose to move-out, some of them stay in. Displacement of the local community who sell the house and move-out are called natural displacement. It is because actually they do not get any forces or any compulsion from other people. The real forces are from themselves such as feel uncomfortable to live with the new situation, new neighbourhood, new transportation system, new lifestyle and so on. The natural displacement of the local community called the chaotic nature of gentrification. Some gentrification studies showed that not all of local community (working-class or low-income group) are displaced, because some local community perceive a positive implication from the neighbourhood development so that they choose to stay in. They can utilize the urban infrastructures and facilities which provided and get advantage from the economic growth. The existence of gentrifier has also given benefit for the local community because they can work as gentrifier's driver, housemaid or gardener.

Increasing of population number in the gentrifying neighbourhood makes competition of space has also arisen. Everybody wants to own a house or land that makes house and land price surge. Therefore, property business (house or land) is booming and creating many speculators. It means that gentrification process

involving land speculators. This situation should be controlled by the government to avoid unstructured and inefficient development.

The process of gentrification differs with respect to the transformation of social, economic, physical aspect and time period. The stages of gentrification can be seen in the picture below (see Figure 2.2).

2.4 Gentrifying Community

Understanding of gentrification process is necessary to identify the community, both local community and gentrifier (Castells, 1983). Gentrification process not only talk about culture and socio-economic transformation of resident (gentrifier) but also culture and socio-economic transformation of the local community (Castells, 1983).

Gentrifier and local community have opposite characteristics (LeGates & Hartman, 1988:179). Gentrifier is a newcomer in the neighbourhood which is middle-income group. Characteristics of gentrifier are young adults with few or no children, high income, small household (nucleus family) and have a job in the professional field (highly skilled). Gentrifier regarded that house is not only a shelter but also self-actualization symbol of their class. Moreover, the house also had economic value as infestations that made gentrifier as house speculator. It can be seen from Victoriana Melbourne which house as a representation of class struggle (Jager, 1988:79). Gentrifier tends to individualistic, lack of attention to the environment and has a new lifestyle which more consumptive (Smith, 1979:37).

Brown-Saracino (2009) divided gentrifier into three types, such as:

- Urban pioneer, who considered as an evil gentrifier. It is because this gentrifier assumed ruins the society values in the neighbourhood. They cannot adapt to the local values and preserved their own values.
- Social preservationist; gentrifier who tries to preserve and to adapt with the local values of a neighbourhood. They disposed to learn and to receive the local wisdom that already exist.

- Homesteaders; gentrifier who has characteristics between urban pioneer and social preservationist. This gentrifier realized the negative impacts of gentrification so they tried to feel homey in their new neighbourhood. Most of them concerned on the environmental quality.

Social Aspect <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small-scale speculators purchase land in inner-city for their own-used • This purchased displaced the local community 	Economic Aspect <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small-scale change because of no government support • No loan or mortgage fund 	Physical Aspect <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Housing function domination and some houses renovated • In very small areas, two or three blocks 	STAGE 1
Social Aspect <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displacement still emerge • Small-scale speculators continue to purchase and renovate the houses. Later on they rent it • Rented houses start to 	Economic Aspect <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited investment for housing renovation – no big-scale investors 	Physical Aspect <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vacant homes decrease because of home ownership shifting • Most of the houses are renovated 	STAGE 2
Social Aspect <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The gentrifier established social organization which represented their character so that change previous social characteristics • Some conflicts emerge between the gentrifier and local community • Rise in population number 	Economic Aspect <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Banks give financial support to renovate vacant house • Housing loan for middle-class and investors • Land price increase significantly 	Physical Aspect <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical appearance totally changes because of urban renewal process 	STAGE 3
Social Aspect <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government policies which try to control urban development and land use • Pro and contra related to displacement phenomena which influence not only to housing renter but also owner 	Economic Aspect <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • House purchase and rent start to publish • House price and rent surge dramatically 	Physical Aspect <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mix-used orientation which shown by emerging of commercial activities 	STAGE 4

Figure 2.2. Gentrification Stages

Source: Clay, 1979

Numerous studies about gentrification use the working-class term to refer long-time residents or local community. Hence, the local community here means working-class group. Local community characteristics are elderly (age between 35-60 years) and having lower range income. The family structure of the local community is having children. It is based on City of Portland Office of Planning and Development in 1978 which mentioned that 43 % move out community was having children (Smith, 1988). Moreover, local community has strong and solid neighbouring traditions (Keller, 1968:20). Whereas working class family is a family who has income above the poverty line, middle-class family is a family who has an income twice the poverty line (Freeman, 2008: 2084).

Elias (2001: 4) said that a society is conceived. Between individual and society often considered as a different thing and not as unity. This assumption makes gap among society which can be led by differentiation of income, the level of education and ethnic. Yet, community is a group of individuals who have various characteristics and united as one. It can be analogy as many bricks which construct as a house. Each part has each role and supports each other.

The division among communities also can be seen from educational level and income. The highest level of educational attainment of the householders, high-school dropout, high school graduate, some college and college graduate (Freeman, 2008). Distribution of community income-group also can be seen from income which compares with poverty line level. The poverty line is people minimal revenue which is needed to fulfil their basic needs such as food, housing, health, education, transportation, and clothing. The working-class group is someone who has income above the poverty line but less than twice the poverty line. Middle-class is someone with income more than twice poverty line. The high income group is the income more than three times the poverty line (Freeman, 2008).

Gentrification gives mutual benefit for gentrifier like better quality of life. Yet, when they moved, it means that local community displaced. Many reasons that made local community moved out such as changing of their surroundings, their neighbourhood,

their friends, transportation pattern, and facilities. All of these changes made them uncomfortable to stay in the previous place. Besides, land price and housing rent had also rise significantly which make them cannot afford to pay. Transformation of many aspects pushed the local community to sell their house. It is called pressure of displacement (Marcuse, 1988:155).

Regardless of the existence of gentrifier and local community, in gentrifying community there are marginal gentrifiers (Rose, 1984). They are lower ranks of professional who work in the low-paid job. It is possible to find this group in the gentrifying community, because in some countries, such in Indonesia, the newcomers are not only from the middle-income group who have skills and well educated, but also low-income group who less skills and less educated. This group comes to the city without clear job position and clear residence place. As a result, they live in a slum area (rent a room) which inadequate conditions such a small rooms for 3 people, less sanitation, and water infrastructure. Even though they have difficult life, they will not go to their hometown.

The dissimilarity characteristics between gentrifier and local community shape the neighbourhood differently. Likewise, gentrifier who has different characteristics, such as length of stay in the kampong, educational background, job, and income gives diverse influence to the community and to the neighbourhood. Gentrifier as a middle-income class has different preference related to housing location and facilities. When they have to stay in working-class neighbourhood which lack of infrastructures and live with local community who has dissimilar characteristics, it can lead spatial appropriation conflicts or segregation (Chamboredon & Lemaire, 1970). Similarly, long-term resident somehow expects no change in their surround.

On the other hand, kampong which considered as informal settlement represents the inhabitant (Polic & Repovs, 2004) who is mostly low-income group, less education and less skill. Spatial representation shapes social dimension which called as cognitive dimension (Dias & Ramadier, 2015). Yet, empiric situation shows that the resident not only Betawi community but also people from other tribes. They differ with respect to

the culture, educational background, job, and income. The presence of gentrifier in this kampong effect the relationship among community (micro level), and changes the appearance of the neighbourhood (macro level).

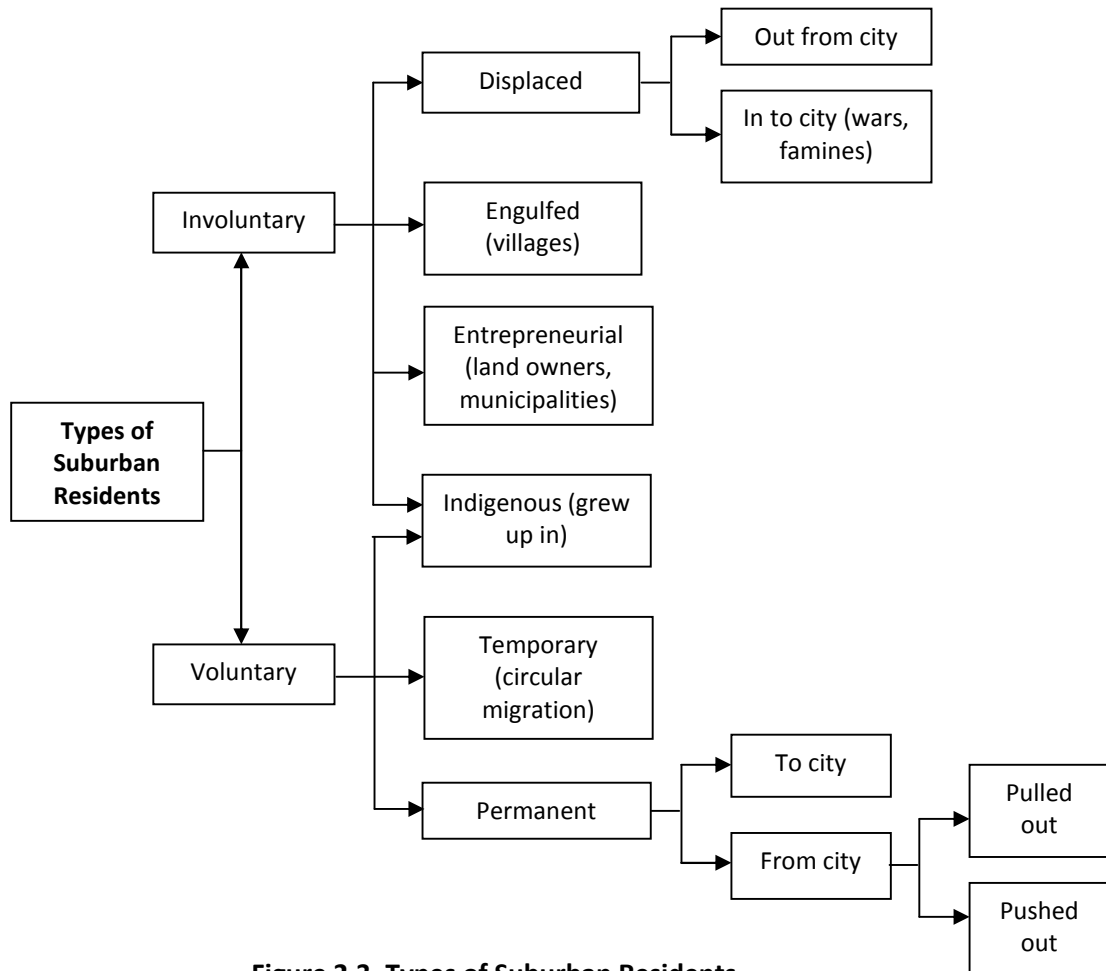


Figure 2.3. Types of Suburban Residents
Source: Harris, 2010

2.5 The Consequences of Gentrification

Regarding gentrification implication is still debatable in the sense that gentrification has not only negative implication but also positive one. The positive implication can be determined by the increasing quality of life, the rising of land and property values. Government views gentrification only from the positive perspective because it can generate area growth so that it can benefit the inhabitants (gentrifier). Furthermore, neighbourhood improvement such development of school does not only give benefit for gentrifier but also others, local community is included.

In contrast, the government does not consider gentrification effect to the local community members who would be displaced. They lose their opportunity to live in proper place; their mobility becomes limited because of affordability reasons. As a result, this situation generates social, economic and spatial segregation. Moreover, the existence of gentrifier is considered transform the local value and culture of the community.

Gentrification is multidimensional and long term process which not only as an urban rehabilitation or renewal but also social transformation (Smith & William, 1988:3). It is because gentrification tends to lead social (class) segregation. Residential and neighbourhood pattern transformation (spatial) are much related to the changes of social structure and pattern. Research which conducted by Skaburskis (2012) showed that gentrification effect to the community can differ with respect to gender and level of income. Women and people with low income tend to be displaced from the beginning of gentrification process. The consequences of gentrification for each community are dissimilar. It is influenced by gender, income, race, job and income, age and their position in the community (relationship).

2.5.1 Displacement as Gentrification Impact

Gentrification from the history focused on social segregation because of black and white segregation in America (Smith, 2005). The changes of the neighbourhood such environment pattern and characteristics of gentrification process accordance to changes of structure and form of social class that later influence the spatial aspect. For instance, the housing location of white and black people which different and job position for them also different. Moreover, segregation emerged from the differentiation of white and black community in America. They were differing with respect to race, educational background, income. Then it made social economic and spatial segregation among them. Spatial segregation occurred because of socioeconomic segregation. The white and black community thought that they were different so that they lived in separated location (La Gory & Pipkin, 1981: 249).

The emerging of segregation in gentrification process is related to social (class) segregation. It justifies gentrification in the term of back-to-city-movement, neighbourhood, and revitalization. Social segregation emerges because of several reasons. Technology advance makes people more individualistic, increasing of expenditure and consumption (new lifestyle), new job position that creates new social class "middle-class occupation", and racial (Freeman, 2008). Besides, the social segregation arises since industrialization phase which manpower changed with the machine and triggered minority group.

Segregation among communities in a gentrifying neighbourhood is caused by dissimilarity of the middle-class group and local community. The local community as working class has limited opportunity in the development process, isolation and relative poverty, insecurity and fear of outsiders (Keller, 1968, 51). They feel insecure because their surrounding is changed. While gentrifier is the middle-income group who are more personal and have limited time to socialize. Moreover, increasing economic of gentrifier makes decrease of need for mutual aid so that more home-centred. These characters are shaped by their occupational and cultural compatibility. Keller said (1968) that the higher level of prosperity, the higher the fences.

Another gentrification consequence is displacement. Displacement is direct implication of physical and social transformation of the neighbourhood. Atkinson (2003) said displacement as a simply process which involved replacement of house or occupation. New neighbours, new shops, new lifestyle, new facilities and new transportation pattern change the neighbourhood and become pressure of displacement for the community. Displacement of local people is seen as a serious problem. For instance, displacement of 24.000 people in Jabodetabek and Bandung during 1980-1989 (Firman & Dharmapatni, 1995: 310). This displacement led several problems such as land conversion, housing demand, transportation and infrastructures provision.

Gentrification sounded as “a dirty word” for local community. It is stated by Marcuse (1988: 155) that urban development and economic transformation made the local community “give up” to the situation and lost their house. They did not get any compensation from the urban transformation. It is called abandonment. Overall, it can be said that urban development with all of the socioeconomic and spatial transformation triggered gentrification which gave benefit for gentrifier, while local community likely to be aggrieved.

...they are displaced where abandonment takes place, because the building and the neighbourhoods are not good enough to provide decent housing for them....(Marcuse,1988;155).

Regarding some studies showed that not all of local community are displaced in a gentrifying neighbourhood. Most of them are displaced, while some choose to stay-in. They who displaced are people that feel uncomfortable with the transformation of their neighbourhood. Moreover, from the economic aspect they cannot afford to adapt with the increasing of living cost (such school tuition fee, health cost, and daily cost). It is called voluntary displacement (Brown-Saracino, 2009). Whereas people who stayed perceive that the changes of surrounding give advantages for them such as proper infrastructures and facilities, better accessibility and a new job opportunity. Therefore, not the entire researcher agreed that displacement can be used as an indicator to determine gentrifying neighbourhood.

Displacement associated with influx capital either from the government, investors or others; particularly in inner-city as a centre of activities. In this area, rent house and other building price are high so that only middle and up-income class afford to buy (economic driven), whereas low-income class was occupied subsidised or informal settlement (Fraser, 2004). *Kampung kota* as an informal settlement located in the inner city became one of reasonable places to reside; the land price is cheap and good accessibility. Many middle-income class as newcomers who need settlement took this *kampung* to reside, and it made competition to occupy house increased. It

called direct displacement (Atkinson, 2003) where there is competition among gentrifier and local community to reside in the same place. The losing party automatically evicted from the place; and the local community has always been being the losers because of financial affordability.

The presence of gentrifier influenced social, economic and physical of the community that in one case it could be shaped new culture, new lifestyle and new neighbourhood. Previous shops or restaurants were not desirable anymore because the community had a new taste (neighbourhood resources displacement). All of the physical transformations made the neighbourhood change and the land price rose significantly; economic growth and economic live standard had surged as well, made some local communities cannot afford to adapt then displaced (economic displacement). When these new characteristics emerge, some local communities who stay do battle to preserve their identity and it is called community displacement. All of this displacement type included as indirect displacement where local community displaces because of some situations.

2.5.2 Government Role in Gentrification Process

Gentrification is considered as one of many neighbourhood transformations. This is related to the implementation of urban development concept. Urban development has caused pattern transformation of urbanization, social economic activities and environmental pressure (McGee, 1995). On the other hand, the effect of changing technology, industrialization and urbanization change choice pattern of life. These also influence people lifestyle particularly in love, marriage, friendship and neighbourliness values. It can be seen from the trend of lowered fertility, smaller families and increasing of working wives. Moreover, it affects the standard of living and community mobility. All of these changes influence the housing preference in accordance with their income affordability and social setting which tend to be more modern. Besides, people choose to live in an area with proper facilities and good accessibility. It means that live in inner-city is something that people really want

because of the location is near from their workplace and many shops, coffee shops and restaurants in surrounding.

The changes of people lifestyle that more consumerism is considered as increasing of urban facilities demand. Therefore many private investors develop various urban facilities such as shops, coffee shop, supermarket and restaurant surround the neighbourhood. For instance, urban development in London that change physical condition of the city such as road improvement, flat and many facilities (hotel, coffee shop) lead new diversity consumption. This was found since 1963 (Glass) when Victorian house changed into flats and emerged of “new” high rise building surround the roads of Georgian. It was attracted newcomer to come and to work in the Country. The number of commuter still arises in London until now which in conjunction with the increasing of job numbers.

On one side, development of the neighbourhood accelerates the economic growth such as create new jobs and improves the environmental quality. Furthermore, industrialization had also changed work association, occupational heterogeneity, and more working women. These are positive impacts which are shown by economic enhancement, new job position and consumption. On the other side, the development which initiated by private investors should be controlled by the government from the physical changes, compliance with spatial regulation and tax revenue. Government role is important in directing the development so that in accordance with policies and give advantage not only to the private investors but also to the community. Otherwise managed by the government, the urban development will lead several problems such as environmental degradation, the social and economic gap in community, poverty. The transformation of many cities had influenced from American style without proper regulation made uncontrolled development (Brown-Saracino, 2010). Inefficient city led people spread out also caused land, facilities and infrastructure inefficiency.

Government regulation related to development is called urban management approach. Application of appropriate urban management approach is a common

challenge for such local government. Some of these local governments adopt a certain urban management approach in trial and error way, neglected their local wisdom so that development that eventually made is fail. This failure can be seen from the high level of poverty, sporadic development, and social-economic gap. For instance, Jabodetabek (agglomeration region which consist of Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi) in Indonesia unsuccessfully gives multiplier effect to others side by generating economic development (McGee & Robinson, 1995). There are some constraints that faced such as conflict of interest among government and private developer, conflict among government institution and conflict among communities; local community and newcomer (gentrifier). Whereas the government had permitted the private developers to build many residential, shops and supermarket, the government cannot handle the urban development, land conversion, and increasing of population number.

Urban development conducted by the government is affecting the rising of gentrification. Many cases in urban development or urban renewal or urban revitalization project run by the government were demolished the previous settlement or buildings and changed into new public place or new building. This process is usually followed by replacement of previous community.

However, urban development was not always initiated by the government; there were private developers who built new luxurious residential with proper facilities in decaying area then attract newcomer (middle-income class) to reside. Increasing newcomer number followed by rising of housing demand captured by private developers to build residential. Furthermore, there was also transformation neighbourhood caused by the community who (self) renovate the house. Renovation and modification above accelerate the economic growth and influence the land price, so that some local community displaced (production side of gentrification). Gentrification occurred because housing demand increase, land price had also raise invited middle-income class to come (Smith, 1979).

2.5.3 Some Gentrification Cases; gentrification in the West, Asia and Indonesia

In the West, transformation of the neighbourhood in a better way is seen as urban renewal process, or urban revitalization; home renovation, or even it called gentrification. There were many gentrification studies in the West which had some similarities, such as; first, displacement process. Although gentrification led by different causes; a social gap between white and black people, class changed; neighbourhood degradation, displacement occurred in all places. Long resident displaced because they felt uncomfortable with their new neighbours, the new building, new shop and new lifestyle; some of them moved because they cannot afford to buy or to rent a new house in the previous place. Second, gentrification initiated by the government through several projects of urban revitalization. Most of the local community reside slum or decayed area in the inner city with an improper house, no sanitation infrastructure, and no clean water access. After this area was inverted by the government, the value and the price of the area were increased so the local community cannot access it.

Government role in the quality enhancement of slum or neglected area in inner-city was in advance compared with the prior year period (before 1990). Previously, the government relied on the private developer to improve the city; absorbed private capital in urban revitalization because of economic recession. Yet, some conflicts emerged after the project finished; social conflict or segregation among communities. Therefore, the government tried to overcome this problem by contributing more in the project. They had also involved poor community (working class) to contribute. It revealed that gentrification in the west get into the third wave of gentrification where government plays a dominant role in urban revitalization (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Immergluck, 2009; Lees et al, 2007; Smith, 2002).

Gentrification in Asia occurred as similar as gentrification in the west (Ley, 2014); initiated by the government. Slum area in the city was intervened by the government through some revitalization project. For instance, demolition of the *lilong* house in Shanghai and changed into business district, new apartment, and luxurious tower.

Likewise, Seoul Olympics development in 1988 displaced more than 700.000 people by government project – Joint Redevelopment Project Policy (Ley, 2014). It means that displacement process of local community and replacement by middle-income class had also existed. The main point is the urban revitalization which is run by government attracts many newcomers to reside in the local community place.

However, there was a dissimilar concept that adopts in urban development in China; it used state-society relations (Lin, 2007; Ley 2014) which was dissimilar with the previous concept and rarely found in the west. Society involved in the urban revitalization activity, though government role still exists. Revitalization that was initiated by private developer had also found in China and Singapore (Chang, 2004, Ley, 2014). Yet, they concern in a certain place and certain issues such as tourism and leisure location; shop house in Singapore (tourism and leisure – based reconstruction). This revitalization changed the physical appearance significantly and pulled people to come. Later on, the development of this tourism and leisure activity pushed many new activities; land use and building function changes go fast. It led tourism gentrification, one of mutation of gentrification (Smith & Philip, 2001).

Similarly, gentrification is found in the peripheral region in Semarang, Indonesia (Prayoga & Esariti, 2013). It was also a form of gentrification mutation, occurred because of the development of university campus (Diponegoro University) in the peripheral or studentification. Having campus in the inner city which already crowd makes the government recommended to build the new campus in the peripheral. The campus development influenced the land price, it increased dramatically. Many local people were seen this situation as an opportunity to get much money by selling the land. Then, many newcomers who are middle-income class bought the land and built boarding house for the university students, shops, café etc. A local community who stayed had also had boarding house, yet it very dissimilar; whereas the gentrifier have luxurious boarding house with air conditioner, free Wi-Fi, and parking lots, local community have simple boarding house even no fan.

Another case of gentrification had also found in pheri-urban area Puclut, Bandung, Indonesia (Hudalah et al, 2014). Many aspects and many actors influenced in this area so triggered gentrification. Environmental issues became one of the crucial debatable points between local and regional government; also the private developer. Puclut was a conservation area (tea plantation previously) with scattered kampong which is now changed into luxurious villa and house.

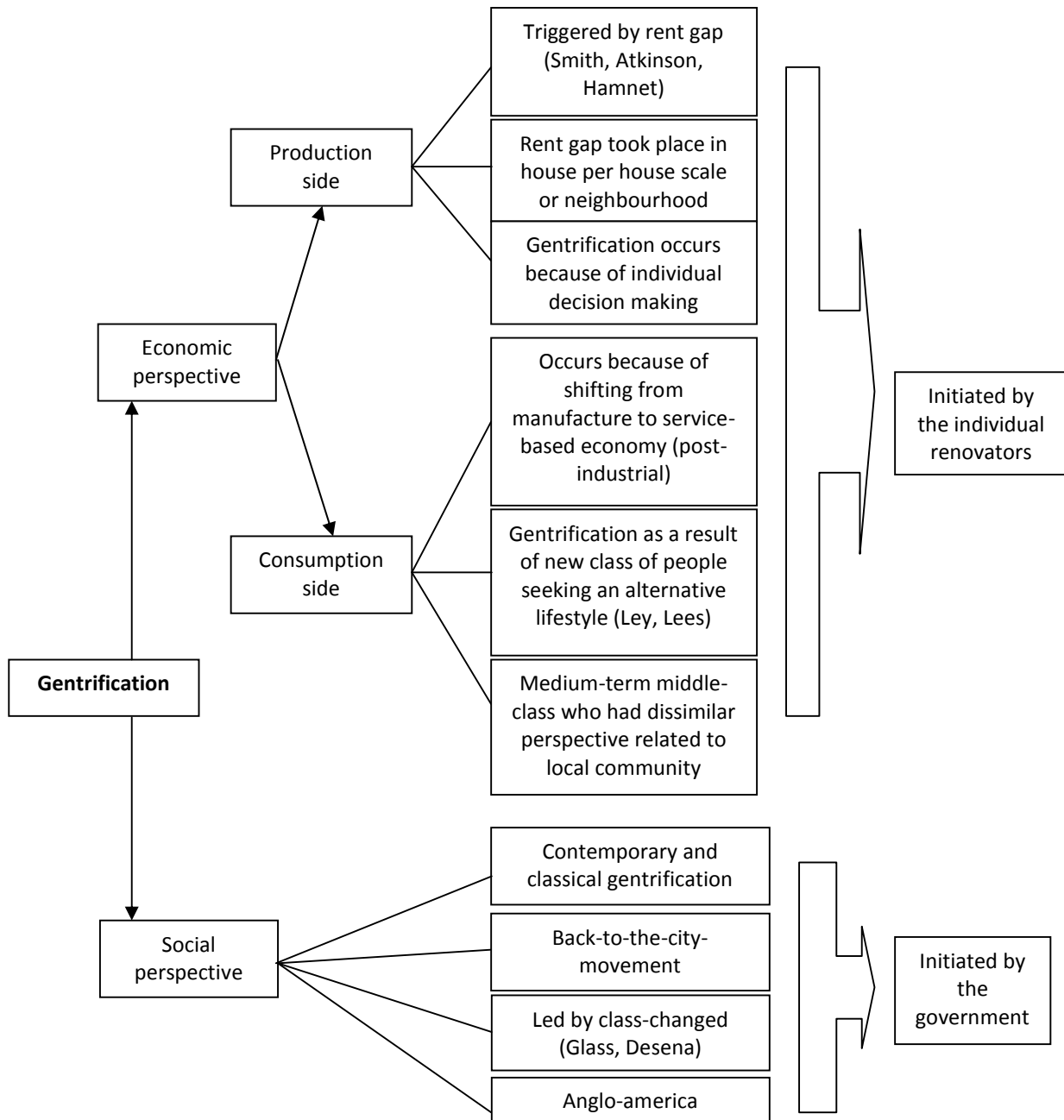


Figure 2.4. Gentrification Concept

Source: Many sources, 2015

Some lessons learned from gentrification in the west and in Asia are gentrification led by the government, even though community involved in the revitalization project, it was supporting role only. Similarly, gentrification in Indonesia had also been initiated by government policy especially urban development policy to grow the peripheral region. Whereas gentrification research in Indonesia emphasized in the peripheral region, research related to gentrification in inner-city is difficult to find.

2.6 Conclusion

Previous gentrification research had only concerned on gentrification outcome or its consequences such as level of displacement, aesthetic change and economic revitalization. Some of them also focused on neighbourhood diversity and segregation only. While number of research which focused on gentrification causes, characteristics and the proses of gentrification are still limited and will be different (Brown-Japonica, 2010). Therefore, this study is attempting to reveal gentrification process. Likewise, gentrification led by the government found in the west and Asia. Yet, gentrification caused by individual renovator is rarely; how do the process and its implication to the community and neighbourhood.

Gentrification refers to an investment of neighbourhood so that transform its social, economic and physical aspects. It is because the emerging of newcomer and evokes displacement of the local community. Some criteria are used to determine gentrifying neighbourhood such as displacement of the local community, job shifting, the transformation of income and education level of the community, land and house ownership, lifestyle, and population.

The gentrifying community consists of gentrifier as newcomer who is mostly the middle-income group and local community (working-class) who is low-income group. In determining middle and low-income group, some criteria had been used, such as:

a. Income

Freeman (2008) said that specifying community group can be done by comparing community income with poverty line. In DKI Jakarta Province, the poverty line in

2014 was 447.797 so that the number of poor people was 393.980 (3.92 %). While the number of family in this research area is 5 people means a family who has a salary less than 2.238.985 rupiahs per month included as poor family. Therefore, low-income group here means a family with salary less than twice the poverty line or less than 4.477.970 rupiahs per month. Whereas middle-income group is family with salary more than twice poverty line (4.477.970- 6.716.955 rupiahs per month)

b. Educational level

While middle-income group are people who graduate from college or more, working-class are people who graduate from senior high school or less

c. Occupation

Working as a professional and managerial worker is some characteristics of middle-income group. While working-class are people who work in low-paid occupation and informal sector.

Gentrification is found in inner-city which neglected, disinvested and devalued neighbourhood. The scale of this neighbourhood is not specific so that reflecting from Indonesian's characteristic that this neighbourhood mostly in the kampong. Generally, in Indonesia there are two types of settlement such as well-planned settlement that proper with infrastructures and facilities and organic settlement (kampong) which less infrastructures and facilities, high density and most of the inhabitant are low-income.

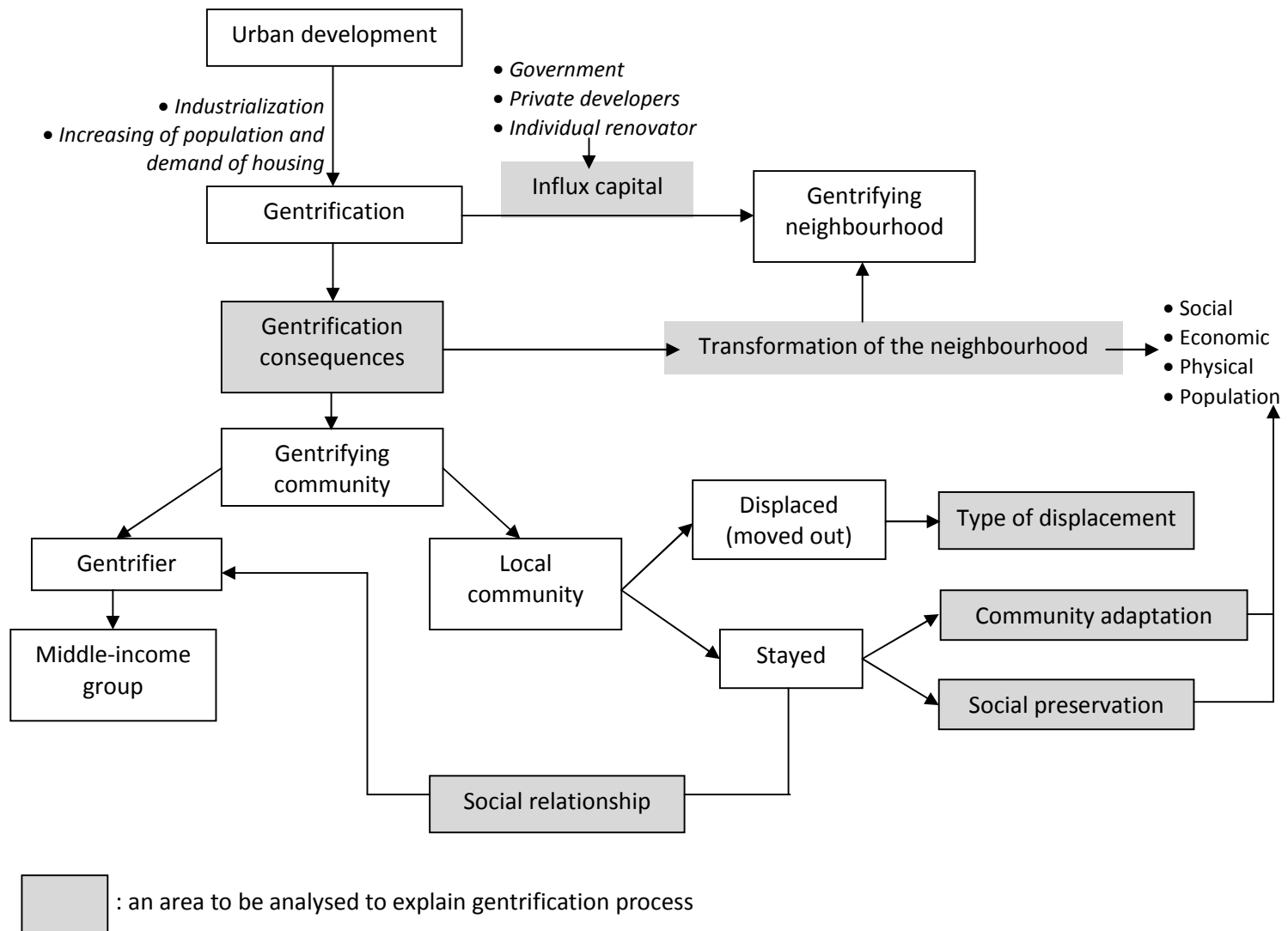


Figure 2.5. Research Theoretical Framework

Source: Adopted from various sources, 2014

CHAPTER 3.

RESEARCH STRATEGY AND ANALYTICAL METHOD

3.1 The justification of Choosing Case Study Strategy

Gentrification varies by time, place, and stage of gentrification (Clay, 1979). It can be seen from the causes, consequences, and outcomes of gentrification process which are dissimilar in each case. The differentiation in each gentrification research is influenced by neighbourhood characteristics, time and place, political situation, and characteristic of the community. Many previous gentrification studies used qualitative method especially case study because of the uniqueness of each neighbourhood. Likewise, this research is also using case study research. Hancock and Algozzine (2006: 16) declared that case study research is research on a certain case which analyse comprehensively, bounded and deeply using various sources of data.

Another reason for choosing case study research is characterized from the research goal which is trying to explain gentrification led by individual renovator from influx capital. Therefore, it can be determined the key actors; gentrification period; and gentrification's consequences. These were analysed from the transformation of neighbourhood's social, economic, physical, and populations, type of displacement and community's adaptation related with the changes of their surround. As Yin (2009) and Hancock (2006: 29) said that case study research is using to explore phenomena including neighbourhood change.

Furthermore, gentrification consequences such as displacement of the local community in research area still continue to occur until now. Similarly, neighbourhood characteristic continues to change such as improvement of facilities and infrastructures, the transformation of population distribution, land use and social economic condition. This situation shows that gentrification process gives influence until now. It can be called as a contemporary case. Yin (2009) stated that in case study research criticize contemporary case means that the case is has been occurring

or has been finished or the case has given broad influences or the impacts when research is conducted.

Gentrification process is strongly associated with a time period which influenced the transformation of the community and its neighbourhood. Revealing the process is conducted by depth interview to the gentrifier (both middle-income group and low-income group gentrifier), local community (both who had already displaced and who are still stayed), and community leader (the head of the district). Moreover, observation is also needed to know physical transformation. All of these activities emphasize the characteristic of case study research.

3.2 Operational Definition

Gentrification can be seen from the various perspectives, so that its definitions, causes, and consequences are still debatable. Therefore, it is necessary to justify gentrification in the operational definition.

- a. **Gentrification** defines as an influx of capital and resultant social, economic, cultural and physical transformation and displacement (Atkinson, 2003). The term gentrification here is dissimilar with urban renewal or urban revitalization because gentrification not only emerged improvement of the neighbourhood (positive outcome), but also displacement of the local community (negative outcome). Therefore, gentrification definition that used is emphasizing on the displacement of the local community as the low-income group who are neglected by the government in the development process and susceptible and resided in kampong as an informal settlement.
- b. **Gentrification process** refers to the transformation of a neighbourhood because of certain intervention both in a positive and negative way. Explaining the process started with the influx capital process from the government, private developers or individual renovator (community). Furthermore, observing the displacement process of the local community as gentrification consequence.

Hereafter, analysing the neighbourhood changes from social, economic, physical and population aspects by comparing before and after the intervention. Finally finding out how the community deals with the changing of their surrounding

- c. **The gentrifying neighbourhood**, located in inner-city which is usually neglected, disinvestment and devalued. The neighbourhood in this research refers to kampong that is located in urban inner-city. This neighbourhood situated in the strategic area with high accessibility level so that attract many people to live there. Most of them are newcomer whom their workplace located in inner-city so that they can save their time and money (transportation cost). As a kampong, this neighbourhood has varied problem such as high level of population density, lack of infrastructures and facilities, and low environment quality
- d. **The gentrifying community** consists of the local community as long residents and gentrifier as a newcomer. They differ with respect to the origin (tribe), income, occupation, and educational level. Yet, a length of stay cannot utilize to recognize somebody as the local community or gentrifier, because even though he has already been staying for some years, he cannot directly say townie. Therefore, this variable is used as a parameter which is somebody has to bond or not with the community.
- e. **Displacement** is as a direct impact of gentrification that can directly be observed. Whereas most of the local community are naturally displaced and replaced by newcomer, some of them choose to stay. This dissimilarity showed that each person in the neighbourhood has their own adaptation pattern related with the transformation of their place.

3.3 Selection of Representative Case

Theoretically, gentrification which is found in inner-city faces some problems such as environmental degradation, lack of infrastructures and facilities and population density. These problems are found in many big cities even metropolitan region, including in Jakarta. Jakarta becomes a center of investment and a center of many

activities. Many people from all of the Indonesian parts are attracted to come (find a job and live) to Jakarta. Population number rise significantly which every hour the population number in this province increase 12 people (Jakarta in figure, 2016). As a result, it leads increasing of housing demand, infrastructures and facilities. Provision (supply) of housing, infrastructures and facilities are unequal with the demand so that emerges housing backlog and slum area. Housing backlog in Jakarta in 2015 was 1,65 million, whereas housing supply was only 120.000-160.000 house/year (finance.detik.com).

Regency	Population			Annual Population Growth Rate (2010-2015)
	2010	2014	2015	
Kepulauan Seribu	21.414	23.011	23.340	1,74
Jakarta Selatan	2.071.628	2.164.070	2.185.711	1,08
Jakarta Timur	2.705.818	2.817.994	2.843.816	1,00
Jakarta Pusat	855.371	910.381	914.182	0,42
Jakarta Barat	2.292.997	2.430.410	2.463.560	1,45
Jakarta Utara	1.653.178	1.729.444	1.747.315	1,11
Total	9.640.406	10.075.310	10.177.924	1,09

Table 3.1. Population Growth in DKI Jakarta Province 2010, 2014-2015

Source: Jakarta in Figure 2016, BPS Jakarta

One of the areas which are lack of infrastructure and facilities is urban kampung (urban neighbourhood). This is a settlement embryo in inner-city which most of the inhabitants are the local community. Kampung Kramat Asem that located in Utan Kayu Selatan sub-district, Matraman district and in the most populist region in DKI Jakarta Province is selected as a case study in this research. Population density shows that competition to get a house is high. Matraman district is one of ten districts in DKI Jakarta Province which the population density exceeds the threshold. Therefore, this district becomes one of the priorities districts of the government (Regulation of DKI Jakarta Province Number 1 the year 2012 about Spatial Plan 2030).

This kampung is identified as a gentrifying neighbourhood which can be seen from the displacement of Betawi society and replaced by many people from various tribes

in Indonesia such as Java, Kalimantan, Madura, and Sumatra. The displacement of Betawi society has occurred slowly since the 1960s and continues until now. Another sign of gentrification is an improvement of the neighbourhood which can be seen from better street condition and provision of water infrastructure. Previously, the street condition was damaged which many holes and no access to water infrastructure which is provided by government; the community makes wells as water supply. Besides, every rain season some areas of the neighbourhood getting flood because of bad drainage infrastructure. However, most of these problems were already handled by government, for instance, street improvement and provision of water.

Criteria	DKI Jakarta	East Jakarta	Matraman District	Utan Kayu Selatan Sub-district
Land area (km square)	662,33	188,03	21,66	1,12
Total population (people)	9.588.198	2.687.027	193.528	36.396
Population density (per square km)	14.477	14.290	8.935	32.496

Table 3.2. Population Number and Density in Research Area

Source: Jakarta.bps.go.id, 2015

3.4 Unit Analysis and Research Variables

Determining unit analysis in this research is related to research purpose which is to find out gentrification process. Therefore, it is necessary to select a neighbourhood that identified experience gentrification. Some criteria are used to specify gentrifying neighbourhood such as located in inner-city, improvement in physical aspect (infrastructures, facilities, and housing), population distribution (number, density, age, and tribe) and displacement of the local community. Finally, unit analysis takes gentrifying neighbourhood kampung Kramat Asem as a case study and represents a gentrifying neighbourhood. Gentrification process in this neighbourhood occurs in a gradual time period that is shown by displacement of local community found in the 1970s until now. Another justification of gentrification process is seen from the

transformation of neighbourhood characteristics such as social, economic, physical and population. It means that this research uses single-case which considers representing another gentrifying neighbourhood.

Based on research goal that is to explain gentrification process in kampong Kramat Asem; from its causes, consequences and community adaptation, so this case included as a holistic single-case. The main actor of gentrification and its causes, outcomes and consequences of gentrification, and how the community deals with the changes in their neighbourhood are a simultaneous process and related each other. Likewise, an existence of gentrifier and local community (particularly who choose to stay in) are considered as a whole that is a gentrifying community. The local community who had already moved out also related to gentrification process so that their existence and perception are needed in this research. Therefore, unit analysis of this research is gentrification process itself. There are several variables used to reveal gentrification process. These variables can be seen in the following table.

Research goal	Research Question	Variables	Output
Figure out gentrification process led by individual renovator and its implication to transformation of Kampong Kramat Asem, Jakarta	How do housing and infrastructure provision in DKI Jakarta Province?	Influx capital process	Main actor of the gentrification: role of the government, private developer and individual renovator
	How does gentrification process led individual renovator?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displacement • Population distribution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Type of displacement • Community adaptation
	To what extent does gentrification changes the social, economic, spatial and distribution aspects of the neighbourhood? What should government aware related the changes?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes of community characteristic • Improvement of physical condition • Lifestyle changes • Population transformation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighbourhood transformation

Table 3.3. Research Variables

Source: Adopted from various sources, 2014

3.5 Data Collection and Analysis Method

As case study research, it is necessary to gain depth information from various sources in order to explain the process of gentrification in kampong Kramat Asem. Therefore, this research used an in-depth interview to several interviewees, direct observation, and documents analysis. In-depth interview was done to find out perception of community related to the gentrification, the changing of the neighbourhood and how they deal with the situation. Moreover, it was also utilized to gain information about government's development policies and programs and its implications. This interview started with the key person who considered has comprehension understanding about the neighbourhood. The role of this key person was necessary to find out another interviewee. Therefore, the key person went to my mother in law (Sopiah) who have already been living in the neighbourhood since she was born in 1958. Her parents were also born and live in the same house since 1930. She represents as a local community (Betawi tribes) and chooses to stay-in.

First step of interview, several interviewees such as head of the district, head of the kampong and private developer were interviewed. They asked related kampong development, some government regulation which affect the kampong, social relationship among communities, and some intervention which conducted to the kampong. It was important to meet the head of the district and head of the kampong to get permit conducted interview and field observation in their administrative area.

Second step of interview was gained information from the communities. The interview used snow-ball method to determine the next interviewee. As first interviewee, my mother-in-law was described the neighbourhood changes since she was born, how she and her three sisters were difficult to go to school, how did her siblings sold the house then moved to another place, and newcomer in her surrounds. Then, the next step was interview to the local community who stayed in the kampong. They were asked the reason why they choose to stay in the kampong, culture preservation, social relationship, and their perception related to the neighbourhood changing, and housing renovation.

Then, the next interviewee was my mother-in-law siblings as a local community who displaced. There were several questions asked such as the reason why they move out, new place preference, etc. Hereinafter, long-term gentrifier and middle-term gentrifier were interviewed to gain information related the reason why they reside in the kampong, housing renovation, social relationship, and transformation of the neighbourhood.

List of interviewee in this research can be seen in the table below.

No	Interviewee	Number	Justification	Purposing Information
1	Head of Utan Kayu Selatan district	1	As government representative at the lowest level so that considered capable to explain government role in district and neighbourhood development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban development policies; housing and infrastructure provision (macro level) • Neighbourhood development program (micro level) • Private developer investment • Community's affordability to improve the house and neighbourhood
2	Head of kampong Kramat Asem	1	Community leader who perceives recognize and understand transformation of the community and neighbourhood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transformation of neighbourhood • Government support related with social preservation
3	Private developers	1	As investors who involved in neighbourhood development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investment aims and purposes • Investment value • Desirable profit
4	Local community who stay	2	As long-time residents who experiencing all of the changes of surrounding from previous to present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception about neighbourhood transformation • Community adaptation pattern
5	Local community who displaced	2	Long-time residents who have different perception in facing neighbourhood changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception about neighbourhood transformation • Present place characteristic
6	Middle-income gentrifier	2	Newcomer with certain characteristics which mostly dissimilar with local community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affordability to rent or to buy a new house and to renovate the house • Perception about neighbourhood transformation
	Total	10		

Table 3.4. List of Interviewee

Source: Author, 2014

The interview was conducted for 3 (three) weeks on December 2014. The first step of interview was arranged in the office of the head of district. Likewise, private developer interview was taken in their office. While interview with the communities was conducted in their house. One by one interviewee was attended directly. Most of the communities' interview taken in the afternoon after they back from the office.

Direct (field) observation is necessary to verify infrastructures and facilities improvement, housing enhancement, and environmental quality condition. My key person directed to the previous *Asem* tree location. It was not only took pictures, but also direct (incidental) interview to the some persons who live nearby the *Asem* tree. Then the observation focused on the physical appearance of the kampong and housing renovation. This field observation was conducted twice; first was on December 2014, second was on April 2015. The second observation was taken to complete some data which was still required.

Furthermore, field observation is needed to gain several data and to verify data from document institution. This observation utilized administration and land use map, density map, and photograph. Field observation protocol can be found in the following table.

No	RQ	Variable	Observation Items	Purpose	Output
1.	RQ 2. How do gentrification process that led by individual renovator?	Gentrification process <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Type of displacement Population distribution 	Physical characteristic of local community and gentrifier	Find out neighbourhood improvement; influence from internal and external factor to gentrification process	Gentrification period
2.	RQ 2. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To what extent does gentrification changes the social, economic, spatial and distribution aspects? What should government aware related 	Neighbourhood transformation	Land use	Find out the proportion of land use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land use map
			Land function	Analyse housing function which is a place for living or a place for business and living, renting room/house number and condition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Changes in the building function trend
			Condition of infrastructures and facilities	Capture provision of infrastructures and facilities, also its improvement and maintenance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Suitability of infrastructures and facilities demand with its supply

No	RQ	Variable	Observation Items	Purpose	Output
	the changes?				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Condition infrastructure s and facilities
			Housing condition	Analyse housing improvement, comparing housing wide with the number of inhabitants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Housing capacity Housing improvement
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lifestyle changes 	Community relationship	Perceiving relation among local community and gentrifier, community meeting (form, emphasizing aspect and participation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community regular meeting Community participation
			Urban facilities (shops, restaurant, school, cafe and internet, laundry)	Capturing lifestyle of community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Frequency of facilities utilization
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Population transformation 	Population and housing density	Find population and housing distribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Percentage of population based on age Percentage of population based on tribe Housing density level

Table 3.5. Field Observation Protocol

Source: Author, 2014

Another method in collecting data was document analysis. This method was conducted to fulfil secondary data such demographic data, information related government regulation, and other dynamics data. Demographic data such as population number, density and distribution as analysed in the form of table and diagram. While physical data was identified by using map overlay to find out the changes, such as land use transformation, housing density, and street pattern. Likewise, this overlay has also used data (in the form of a map) in the 1990s and 2013. All of this data; both demographic data comparison and map overlay, supports qualitative analysis as supporting details. These data were taken from several

government institutions such as Central Bureau of Statistic DKI Jakarta Province, Matraman distric office and Utan Kayu Selatan sub district.

No	RQ	Variable	Indicator	Data
1	RQ 1. How do housing and infrastructure provision in DKI Jakarta Province?	Influx capital process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government's development policies and programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number and target of housing provision Urban housing development priority Number and target of infrastructures provision
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Private developer investment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of private developer investment Field of investment
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Individual housing renovators 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of self-help housing improvement Government support for self-help housing improvement
2	RQ 2. How does gentrification process that led by individual renovator?	Gentrification process	Type of displacement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Displacement background Characteristics of present place 	Gentrification period
			Community adaptation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community relationship Social preservation Effort to survive in the neighbourhood 	
2	RQ 3. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To what extent does gentrification changes the social, economic, spatial and distribution aspects? What should government aware related the changes? 	Transformation of neighbourhood	Job shifting	Demographic data in the 1990s and 2013 : community's occupation
			Change in educational level	Demographic data in the 1990s and 2013 : community's education
			Shifting in land ownership	Data of homeownership in the 1990s and 2013
			Provision of infrastructure	Data of infrastructures coverage area
			Improvement of facilities and infrastructures	Number and justification of improvement (present and plan)

Table 3.6. Research Data Requirement

Source: Author, 2014

Data that used in this research is determined from research goal and some variables which taken from the theory. For detail, data collection guidance can be seen in the below table.

Variable	Indicator	Interviewee		
		Government	Private developer	Community
RQ 1. How do housing and infrastructure provision in DKI Jakarta Province?				
Influx capital process	• Government's development policies and programs	I, D		
	• Private developer investment	I, D	I, D	
	• Individual housing renovator	I, D		I
	• Community's affordability to improve the house and neighbourhood	I		I
RQ 2. How does gentrification process that led by individual renovator?				
Variable	Indicator	Interviewee		
		Government	Private developer	Community
Gentrification process	Type of displacement <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Displacement background• Characteristics of present place			I I, D, O
	Community adaptation <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Community relationship• Social preservation• Effort survive in the neighbourhood	I		I I I
RQ 3. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• To what extent does gentrification changes the social, economic, spatial and distribution aspects of the neighbourhood?• What should government aware related the changes?				
Variable	Indicator	Interviewee		
		Government	Private developer	Community
The transformation of neighbourhood characteristics	Changes of community characteristic <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Job shifting• Change in educational level	I, D I, D		I I I

Variable	Indicator	Interviewee		
		Government	Private developer	Community
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Income Number of families 			I
	Improvement of physical condition			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provision of infrastructure 	I, D, O	I	I
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improvement of facilities and infrastructures 	I, D, O	I	I
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Housing improvement 	I, D, O	I	I, O
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shifting in land ownership 	I, D		I, O
	Lifestyle changes			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consumerism School orientation Culture which exists and extinct 	I		I, O I I, O
	Population transformation			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Population number Population distribution Age of the inhabitants Tribes 	D D D D		O O I I

Table 3.7. Data Collection Guidance

Source: Author, 2014

Note:

I : Interview

D : Document Analysis

O : Field Observation

To simplify the processing of the data, information that gained from the interviewee was in some codes. Each interviewee was giving different code, such as the local community who stayed (LC-S), the local community who displaced (LC-D), long-term gentrifier (G-LT), middle-term gentrifier (G-MT), head of the sub-district (GOV), and private developer (PD). Besides, behind the code was included the number that adjusted with the number of interviewee.

Gentrification process is explained in several steps analysis which each stage use different analysis techniques. The research used qualitative method especially comparative analysis. This analysis method was utilized particularly comparing neighbourhood before and after gentrified. Comparing community's occupation, income, and educational level used documents from the related institution before and after 1998. Moreover, it also compared perception and adaptation regarding the changes of the neighbourhood between local community and gentrifier.

3.6 Verification and Validation of Data

Field data validation used triangulation method consisting of several steps. First, ensuring the key definitions and concepts are as clear as possible. Influx capital process, displacement and transformation of social, economic and physical aspects of the neighbourhood determined as research variables. It was derived from the theory, some gentrification studies, and empiric situation. Second, explaining the objectives of the research and the potential of the research to improve the existing situation. All of interviewees got information in the beginning of interview related to the research aim, research goal, and expected information. Yet, all of these explanations were delivered in informal (relaxed) situation. Some of interviews were failed, because interviewee felt afraid to explain the real situation, they did not want to make a mistake by answering the question. They did not want the information that they give were abused. Therefore, during interview process, the key person (my mother-in-law) always involved, to make the interviewee more comfortable. They feel comfort to give information to someone whom they already known.

Third, repeating questions in interview to different interviewee to check consistency of responses. For instance, social relationship in the neighbourhood is described based on information communities, not only local communities but also gentrifier. Besides, this information has also confirmed to the head of kampong. Fourth, conducting a thorough background literature review before and after the fieldwork period. This step has also to check if there is missed data.

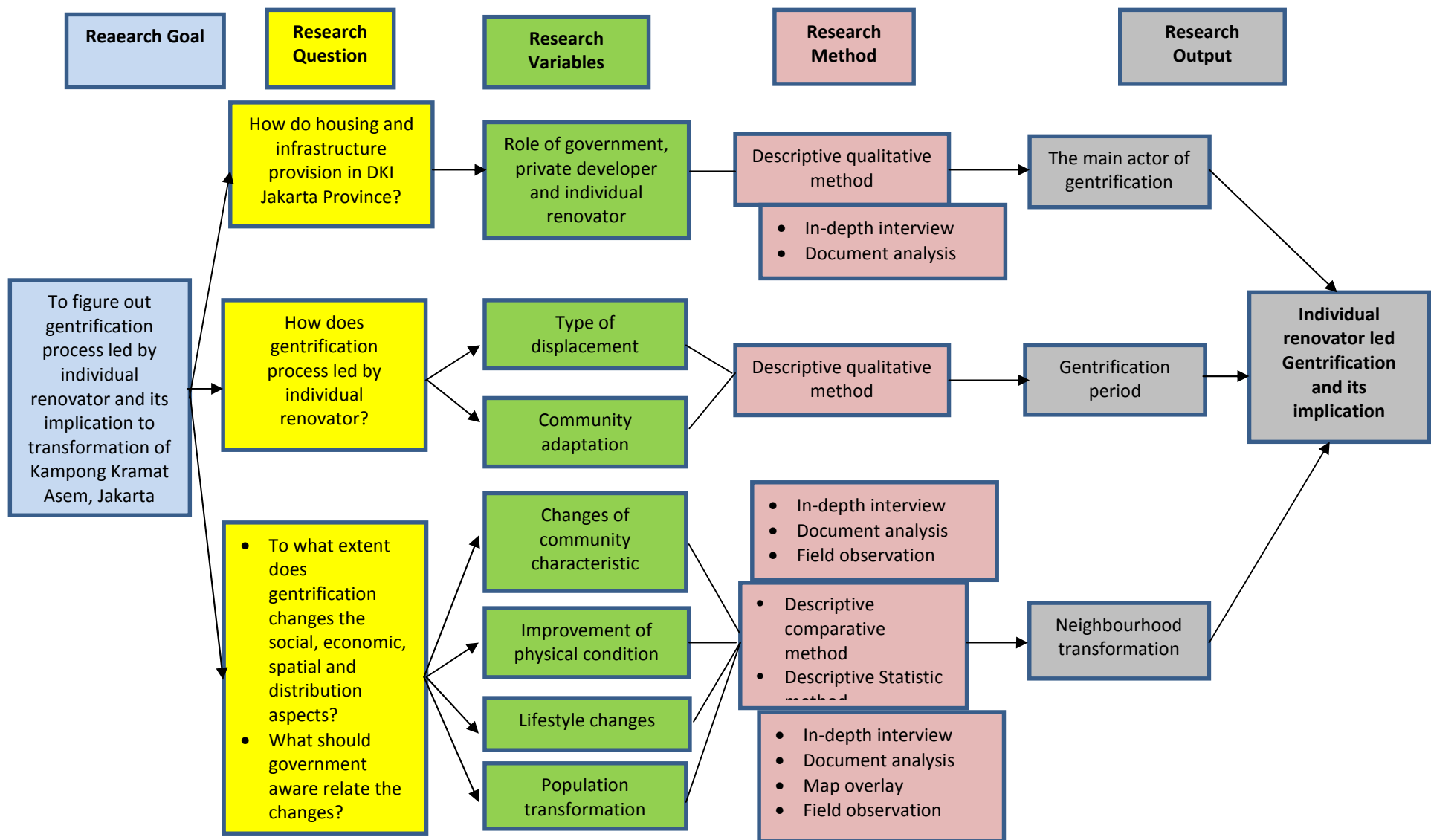


Figure 3.1. Research Flow Chat

Source: Author, 2014

CHAPTER 4.

COMMUNITY AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF KAMPONG KRAMAT ASEM, DKI JAKARTA: AN OVERVIEW

4.1 Population and Physical Spatial Characteristics

Administratively, kampong Kramat Asem constitutes a part of Utan Kayu Selatan village, Matraman sub-district, the East Jakarta municipality. This kampong is located 7,9 km from Jakarta's downtown that can be reached by car (19 minutes in normal traffic or 33 minutes while in traffic jammed) or public transport (bus rapid transit or BRT or Transjakarta). Utan Kayu Selatan village-wide is 1.12 km². This village consists of 174 RT (*Rukun Tetangga*) and 14 RW (*Rukun Warga*)⁴. Population number in this village was 43.396 people in 2013 and it had the highest share (24 %) from all of the Matraman sub-district population number (jakarta.bps.go.id). In this village, there are some business in broilers which well-known in Jakarta. Most of the population was graduated from junior high school and work as employee and labour, entrepreneur.

Kampong Kramat Asem has wide 143.165 m², and consists of 11 RT and 1 RW. There are 880 households in this kampong. The land use is dominated by settlement, while the rest are offices function. Generally, this kampong is divided by two mains local streets, which are *Jalan Asem Gede 1* and *Jalan Asem Gede II*. Open space in this kampong is limited (less than 10% from the entire kampong wide), and mostly are in the form of the fields. Many residents (medium-term gentrifier and tenant) who have cars while they do not have any parking lots use this field as parking lots. They pay some money to the land owner and the amount differs by a number of cars and size (varies from 150.000-300.000 rupiahs per car per month). They give some money to the local community who reside near the field as money tips and as a thank-you note

⁴ In Indonesia, the government structure is divided into some level; Province that consists of some regencies, regencies composed by some districts, district arranged by some villages, villages consist of some RW, and RW composed by some RT. Therefore, RT is the smallest government level and it is at the neighbourhood level.

because they keep on eyes to their cars. There are not any parks and playgrounds provided so that children play on the roadside all day. The only open space is streets.



Figure 4.1. Main entrance to kampung Kramat Asem

Source: Field observation, 2014

4.2 Toponym of Kampung Kramat Asem

Before Indonesia's Independence Day, kampung Kramat Asem has already existed. This kampung is namely Kramat Asem because of many tamarind trees (*Asem* tree in Indonesian). Since 1920, there was one *Asem* tree that considered sacred by the community with a grave under the tree. The community believed that this grave had magic so that they must respect and always maintain it. Some tradition activities (cultural ceremonies) are held frequently in this area. If the community violated this rule (ignored) or skipped the ceremony, they assured that something bad will happen to their kampung such flood, disease epidemic and other adverse moments.

Yet, in the 1970s the central government run road improvement by widening the road. There was land acquisition of some community's land, including the *Asem* tree

and the sacred grave. The Asem tree was felled and the sacred grave displaced. At that moment, most of the old community who hold their belief changed with their children (young generation) who less belief. Now, the previous location of Asem tree and sacred grave is changed into a mosque, Islamic boarding school, and tenements.



Figure 4.2. Previous location of Asem tree changed into a mosque (a), Islamic boarding school (b) and tenements (c)

Source: Field observation, 2014

4.3 Community's Characteristics

4.3.1 Local Community's Characteristic

Betawi name is taken from Batavia which was given by Netherland in their colonization period (www.jakarta.go.id). Based on the location of residence, there are two Betawi people; peripheral Betawi community (*Betawi pinggiran*) and middle Betawi community (*Betawi tengah*). They are differed with respect to housing location, speech style, and occupation. The peripheral community resides at coastal areas and they work as farmer and fisherman, whereas middle community lives in the middle of kampong and works as industry labor and trader (business). In economic aspect, there are two type strata in the community which are rich community (*orang gedong*) and poor community (*orang kampong*). The difference between these communities can be seen from the property, education level, and lifestyle. While *orang gedong* lives in a big house and has broad land, *orang kampong* lives in a small

house as the only property that they have. *Orang gedong* sends their children to the formal school until senior high school, while *orang kampung*'s children graduate from elementary school only. Yet, they have similarities in the number of children which more than 5 children and live with all of the big family in one house (www.jakarta.go.id).

In Betawi community, the women position is marginalized in the community; less educated and low involvement in the labour force. It is because of women responsible on all of the household matters such cooking, cleaning the house, serving the husband and children. Moreover, most of these women have already married at the young age because married is more important than go to school. Most of them are drop out from elementary school (even did school at all so they cannot read and write), while the rest are graduated from elementary school. This situation is applied in all Betawi community; *Betawi pinggir*, or *Betawi Tengah*, either *orang gedong* or *orang kampung*.

Betawi community strongly holds their culture; they have their own language, food, custom home, custom clothes, and traditional dance. For instance, *ondel-ondel* and *rebana* (in Betawi it called *ketimpringan* as a traditional music) as a traditional performance which always held in their cultural activities. Related to the social aspect, the decrease Betawi people number in Jakarta makes their position susceptible. Therefore, they declare many community organizations to strengthen their position not only in political aspect but also in social economic aspects. On the other hand, these organizations somehow make an emotional and ego among communities increase. The diminished sense of nationalism being defeated by a high sense of regionalism and it is somehow triggered conflicts among tribes.

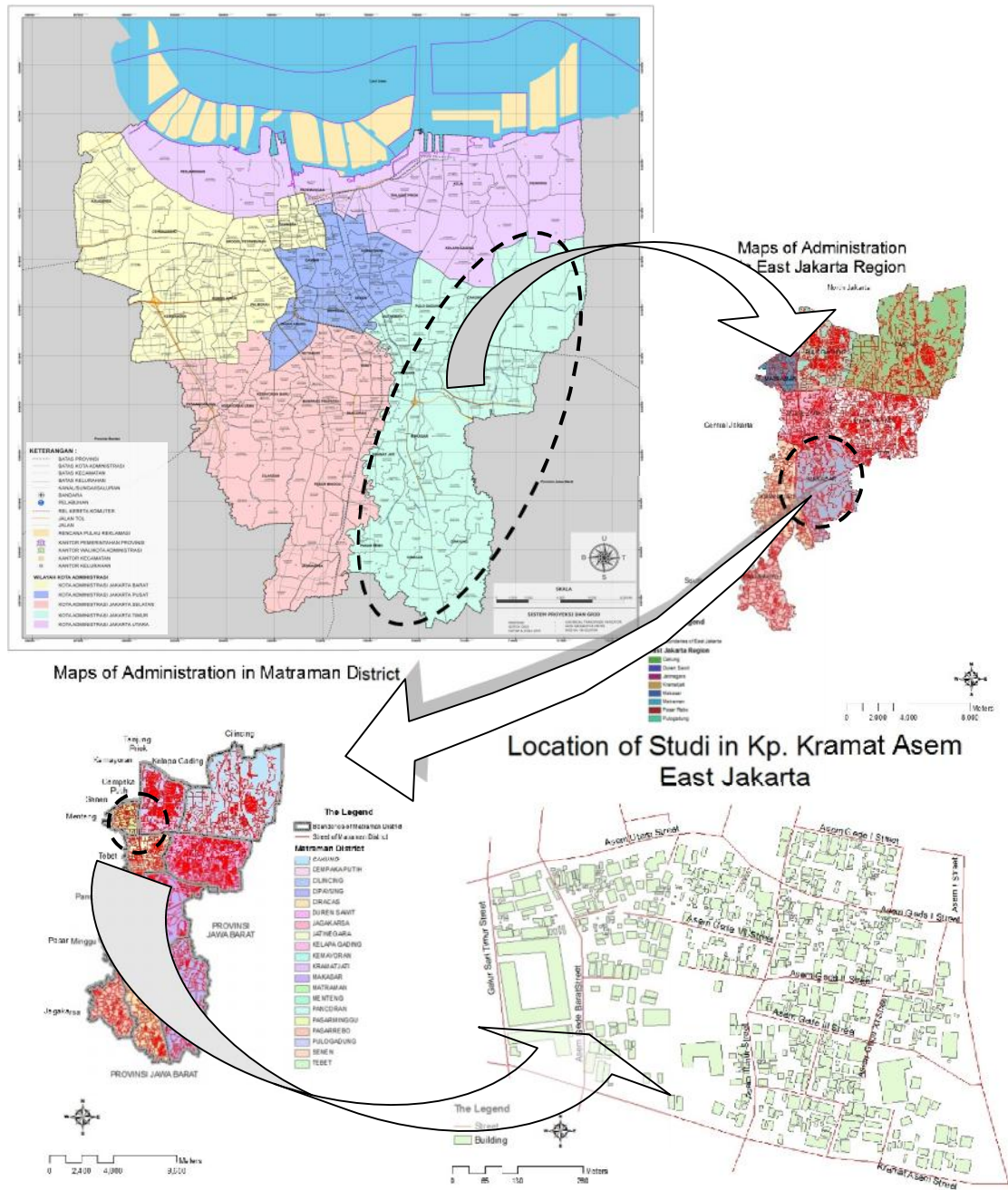


Figure 4.3. Location of Kampong Kramat Asem

Source: bappedajakarta.go.id, 2013

Betawi community has already resided in the kampong since their grandparents or before Indonesia's Independence Day (before 1945) as the first generation. While the second generation is the first generation's children that mostly were born in 1950-1960; the third generation is the second generation's kids and they were born in 1980-1990. They live in the same house since the first generation until now (third generation). Some of these people renovate the house when they have a new family

(married or bearing a kid). They make a new small bedroom (with simple room partition used plywood). Yet, there are some Betawi community had only one bedroom and it utilized together with their kids.

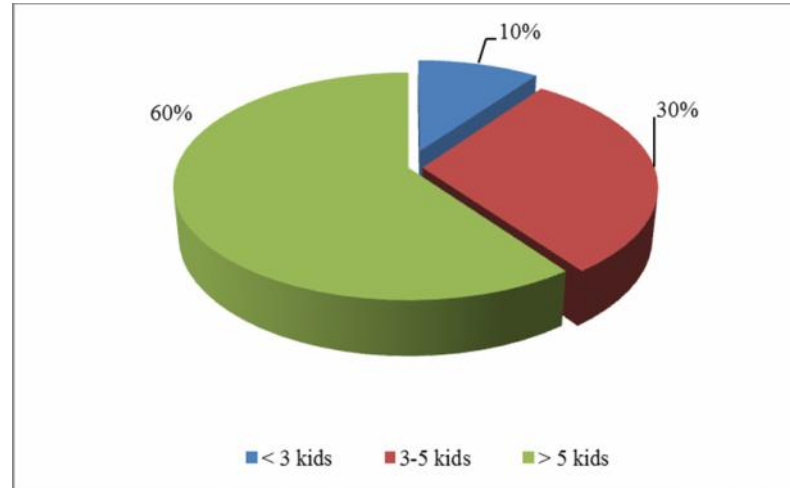


Figure 4.4. Numbers of Children of Local Community

Source: Field survey, 2014

In kampong Kramat Asem, there are also *orang gedong* and *orang kampong*. Although they differ with regards to economic condition, they have the similar perceptions related education and marginalized to women. Most of *orang gedong* send their children to formal school, yet for their daughters, it is compulsory to finish all of the house chores first before they go to school. Their daughters must cook, wash all of the family clothes, clean the house, and then they go to school. If they do not finish yet for all of the duty, they cannot go to school. They consider that education is not important, because after they grow up and mature they will get married and take care of their children, not worked. Their education will useless. While most of their son graduated from senior high school. *Orang gedong* has a lot of capital so that they can have their own business (an entrepreneur).

Most of *orang kampong* is school dropout from elementary school. At that moment, there was a fewer government assistance in education such as School Operational Assistance (*BOS*) that launched in 2005. This program is considered as one of Fuel Subsidy Reduction Compensation Program (PKPS-BBM) in education

(www.worldbank.org). The government assists the schools in providing better facilities, books and education development. Since this program was launched, there is no any tuition fee for students. Yet, some private schools still charge for the tuition. Therefore, before 2005, the parents should pay an amount of money when they sent the children to school. While not all of *orang kampung* afford to pay school tuition fee. Not only affordability to pay school tuition, but also their perception about education as an unimportant thing. Hence, many *orang kampung* cannot read and write. Nowadays, most of *orang kampung* graduated from elementary school level only. Less educated and less skilled make difficult for them to find a job. They work as public transport driver who do not have any driving license, illegal parking attendants, motorcycle taxis driver, and *orang gedong's* housemaid.

In social and cultural preservation, whereas *orang gedong* tends to hold their culture, *orang kampung* does not afford to conduct it. Conducting *ondel-ondel* and *rebana* needs much money so many cultural ceremonies or wedding celebrations skip this performance. At present, there is a *rebana* group funded by RW. Not only *orang gedong*, but also *orang kampung* or newcomer can join as their member. All of the members should pay the contribution 10.000 rupiahs each month which used to pay salaries of *rebana* teacher. If this *rebana* group is asked to perform in a cultural ceremony, they will also be paid in varies range (approximately 1million rupiahs). Yet, it depends on the affordability the guest. Then, this money is used to buy a new group uniform and buy a new *rebana* instruments. *Orang gedong* and *orang kampung* interaction in this *rebana* group indicates that they have a close social relationship, even though they differ with respect to economic or financial condition.



1



2



4



3



5

Figure 4.5. Betawi's Traditional Characteristics

1. Ondel-ondel as Betawi's traditional performance. Source: <http://budaya-indonesia.org/Ondel-Ondel/>
- 2 & 3 *Rebana* or *ketimpringan* is another Betawi's traditional performance. Source: <http://www.jakarta.go.id/web/system/jakarta2011/public/images/encyclopedia>; <http://betawitoday.blogspot.de/2013/05/profil-musik-betawi.html>
- 4 & 5 *Kerak telur* as one of Betawi's traditional food. Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f9/Kerak_Telor_Betawi_Vendor.jpg; http://s3.amazonaws.com/foodspotting-ec2/reviews/2219965/thumb_600.jpg

Urban development which leads gentrification causes displacement of the local community. The Betawi community who moved from kampong Kramat Asem choose to live in another kampong in Jakarta's peripheral region because of an affordable land price. They reside in the kampong which also lack of infrastructures and facilities such as waste and water supply network. Later on, these facilities provide by the private institutions. Moreover, their house location is not accessible by any public transportation. This situation is mostly faced by *orang kampong* who moved out from kampong Kramat Asem because they cannot adapt with the increasing of living cost. Most of them work as a handyman, labour, and have a small food stall. They try to be survived in the new place with the same job. Another *orang kampong* who moved out chose to live in another village or another sub-district where close to their previous place. It is because they do not want to lose their job which mostly located in surrounds kampong Kramat Asem. They work as medium-term gentrifier's driver, housemaid, and office boy in some offices which are located across the kampong. They stay in rent house or they buy an illegal house; no land certificate, or unclear land status, occupy waqf land. Their money that got from selling the house is not enough to get a new proper house.

Orang gedong who moved out has dissimilar housing location preference. They have affordability more than *orang kampong* so they can buy a proper house. Most of them choose to live near their workplace, which is also located in the peripheral region such as industry or property institutions. Whereas most of *orang gedong* married with other tribes in Indonesia (intermarrying), *orang kampong* married with fellow Betawi. Having better education than *orang kampong* and married with different community affects social relation among *orang gedong*. The main factor which determines housing location is range from house to workplace, proper house and land price, while range with their big family factor was not really considered. They live in a new neighbourhood, new neighbours and new location. Yet, they can assimilate with the new community and participate in community activities. Being part of the new community makes they do not bring out their own culture.

Another *orang gedong* who displaced from kampong Kramat Asem has also chosen to live in the peripheral region, because of land price reason. They used the money from selling their house to buy a new house in other kampong and built some tenements. Then they rented it to other people who mostly are newcomer low-income class. Most of these *orang gedong* are jobless or in pension period so that they relying on rent money to fulfil their daily needs.

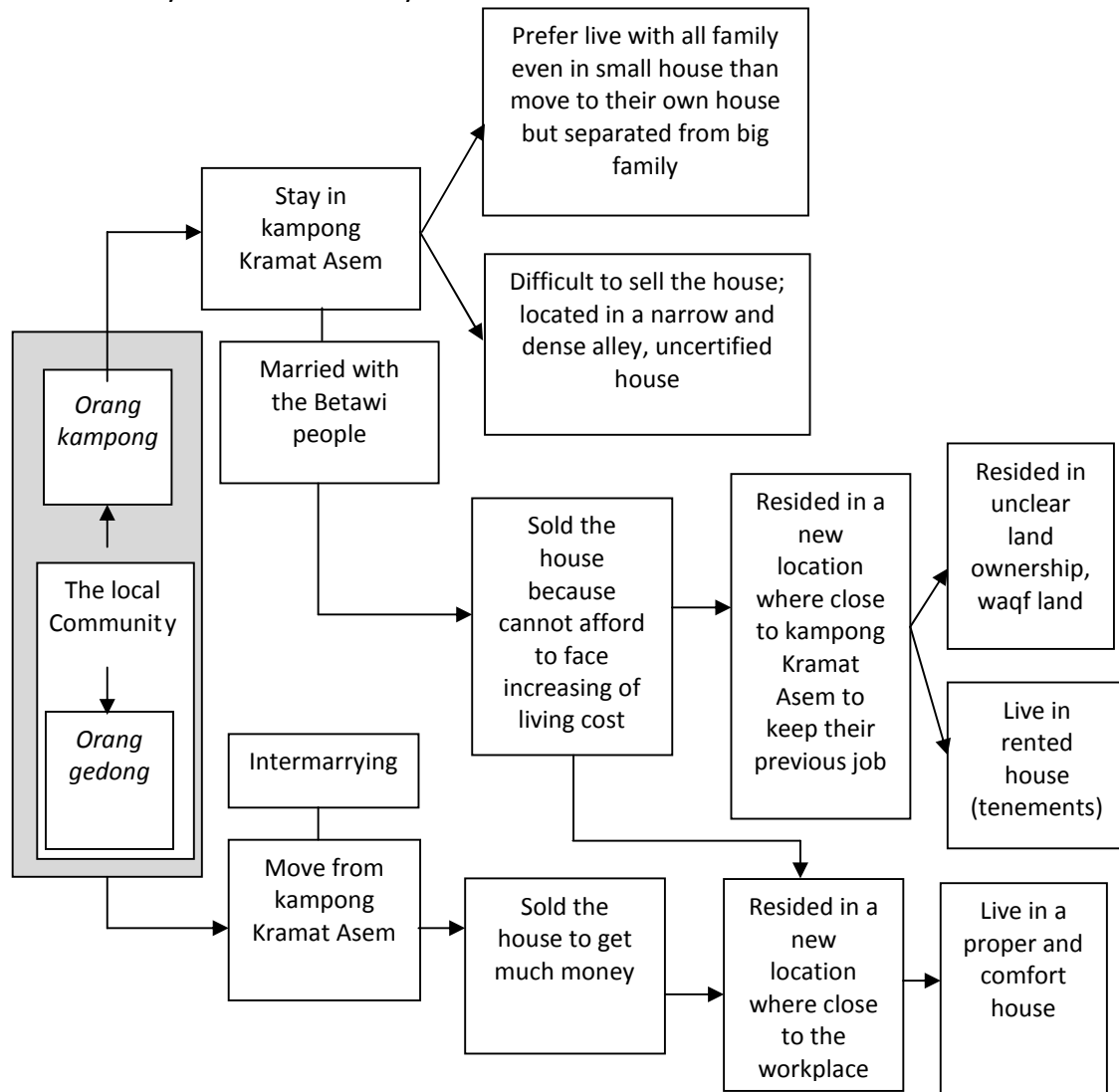


Figure 4.6. Characteristics of Local Community

Source: Direct interview, 2014

Each generation of the Betawi community has dissimilar characteristics; it is caused by some factors such as the presence of the gentrifier, the government development program, and changes in the social economic aspects of the neighbourhood.

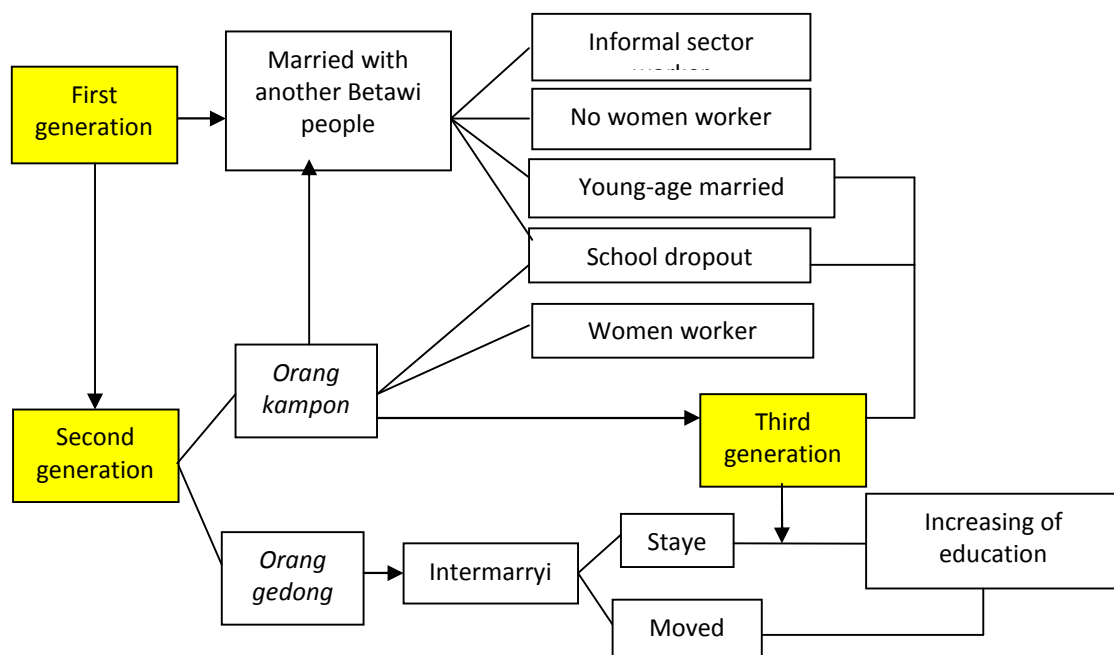


Figure 4.7. Characteristics of each generation of the local community

Source: Direct interview, 2014

4.3.2 Gentrifier's Characteristic

Gentrifier in kampong Kramat Asem is differing with regards to length of stay, contribution, and their influence on the community. It can be distinguished into two types which are long-term gentrifier and medium-term gentrifier. Whereas long-term gentrifier is gentrifier who resides in kampong more than 15 years, medium-term gentrifier lives in kampong less than 15 years. Although they are included as a middle-income class, they have a dissimilarity income level. Both long-term gentrifier and medium-term gentrifier have the same reason for choosing kampong Kramat Asem as their residence which is accessibility and affordable land price. They do not want to pay more on transportation cost to get workplace.

Long-Term Gentrifier's Characteristics

Most of the long-term gentrifier is graduated from senior high school and university (40% from gentrifier is bachelor). They work as a civil servant in government institution which is located in inner-city. They got information about a house for sale

or vacant land for sale from their colleagues. Actually, they got official residence from their office which is in the peripheral region. They prefer to sell it and use the money to buy house or land in kampong Kramat Asem because it is more accessible. Long-term gentrifier is Javanese and Minang people (Sumatrans). They went to Jakarta to get a better job than in their previous place. Some of them took the university in Jakarta which is considered better than in their place and then get a job in Jakarta. Most of the long-term gentrifier women are housewife; they stayed at home to bear their kids and to take care the house (cooking, washing the clothes, cleaning the house, etc). Long-term gentrifier lives in nucleus family with less than 3 kids. At present, their kids have already married and work. They choose to live in their own house outside the kampong and close to their workplace.

Having better education and job makes long-term gentrifier are respected by the local community. Furthermore, long-term gentrifier has also participated in community and cultural activities. They mandated as a community leader as leader of *RT*, leader of *RW* and mosque committee (mosque *takmir*) for many years. They have a close social relationship with local community so that all of kampong or mosque program can be run smoothly. There is no conflict either between local community and long-term gentrifier or conflict among local communities. The former community leader said that the key to create good neighbourhood is the long-term gentrifier realizes that they are newcomer in the neighbourhood. Therefore, they must have high tolerant, respect, and have a mutual understanding to the local community. As a community leader, long-term gentrifier also tried to get any assist from government or others in neighbourhood improvement.

Long-term gentrifier lives in their own house which has already certified and has wide more than 100 m². They renovate the house gradually adjusted to their income. They prefer to ask the local community to renovate their house than asked professional contractor.



Figure 4.8. One of Long-term Gentrifier's House

Source: Field observation, 2014

Medium-Term Gentrifier's Characteristics

Medium-term gentrifier is well-educated which mostly graduated from the university (bachelor and master degree). They are Javanese, Minang people, Batak people, Chinese, Madura people, and Sundanese people. They came to Jakarta to work such as a lawyer, manager, entrepreneur, and civil servant in some government institutions. They knew kampong Kramat Asem from their friend then they live in the rent house. After they married and established financially they bought their own house in the kampong. Medium-term gentrifier women are working women as lawyer, nurse, teacher, and other professional jobs. They also live in nucleus family with less than 3 children. Therefore, most of them ask local community women as their housemaid who helps them to take cares the kids and the house. Some of them ask professional babysitter or take the housemaid from their hometown because of safety and comfort reason.

The relationship between the local community and medium-term gentrifier is the form of employee and employer. Most medium-term gentrifier takes local community as their employee such driver, gardener, handyman and housemaid. The medium-term gentrifier considers that they have already known each other so they trust to the local community will not do any crimes such stealing. The medium-term gentrifier feels more secure to ask the local community to take care of their children and keep their house. On the other hand, local community gets benefit from this; they can get job and money.

Medium-term gentrifier's house has wide more than 100 m² and totally renovated with modern style and high fence which done by a professional contractor. The gap between local community and medium-term gentrifier can be seen clearly from their house physical appearance.



Figure 4.9. Medium-term gentrifier's house (a) and local Community's house (b)

Source: Field observation, 2014

In the social relationship, the medium-term gentrifier tends to be passive; they are busy with their job and in weekdays they spend the day with their children. They cannot participate in many community and cultural activities. Hence, the community leader is taken by the local community. The medium-term gentrifier prefers to contribute in the form of fresh money or items needed by the community. For instance, in commemoration of Indonesian Independence Day, they assist in facilities improvement. Local community appreciated medium-term gentrifier contribution and very tolerant. Therefore, there is no any conflict between local community and medium-term gentrifier.

Aspect	Local Community	Long-term gentrifier	Medium-term gentrifier
Length of stay	Since born	>15 years	<15 years
Occupation	Men : Informal job Women : mostly housewife, some of them work in informal job	Men : Civil servant Women : Housewife	Both men and women work as professional worker
Income # Minimum Wage Standard for DKI Jakarta in 2015 is 2,7million rupiahs	< 3 million rupiahs	3-5 million rupiahs	5 million rupiahs per month
Type of family	Extended family with 3-5 kids	Nucleus family with less than 3 kids	
House-wide	<60 m ²	< 100 m ²	>100 m ²
Housing renovation	Lives in heritage house from their grandparents; no significant renovation except partitioned the room	Small-scale renovation and uses local community as builder	Significant renovation and asks professional contractor as renovator

Table 4.1. Difference Characteristics among Local Community, Long and Medium-term gentrifier

Source: Author, 2015

GENTRIFICATION PROCESS IN DKI JAKARTA PROVINCE

5.1 Urban Development Regulation in DKI Jakarta: from macro to micro level

Gentrification can be led by several causes such rent gap of inner-city and the peripheral region, changing of living pattern and living preference, and the existence of middle-income class (Marcuse, 1988,154; Smith, 2005). All of these matters relate to urban development which consists of housing provision, public infrastructures, and public facilities provision. Urban development regulation affects to the neighbourhood transformation, population distribution and social economic of the community.

5.1.1 Middle- Income Class Bubble in Indonesia

Determining middle-income class can be seen from community's salary, education level, lifestyle, and expenditure (nasional.kompas.com). In Indonesia, the government adopts Asian Development Bank (ADB)'s standard to determine this class (www.yuswohadi.com). A community who has expenditure \$ 2 – 20 per capita per day can be categorized as a middle-income class (nasional.kompas.com). Moreover, they have also good education level (university), have car and smartphone, and have money to go to recreation. They have also access to health services and public infrastructures.

Middle-income class growth related to economic development in Indonesia. In 1998, Indonesia faced an economic and social crisis which was the worst in Asia; many overseas investors were coming out from Indonesia made a high level of work termination, exchange rate plummeted from 1.500 to 15.000 rupiahs per 1 dollar (www.finansialku.com). These situations made many people jobless, increasing of the poverty level, chaotic political situation and presidential impeachment. The

government issued some economic policies to overcome the crisis such as took IMF assistance. Moreover, the government had also increased the capital investment; improve the educational system and public infrastructure. As a result, after 12 years struggling to overcome the crisis, number of poverty level decrease and middle-income class grow significantly and become the fastest growth in Asia (www.tempo.co).

The existence of the middle-income class which surges significantly in Indonesia gives great influence to urban development and politics situation. This rapid grow reached 56,5% from all of the population in 2015 (www.tempo.co). As the most social class, they have the major role both in economic and social. Graduate from university, works in a formal sector and has a modern lifestyle make this class shape community differently and gives great influence to the low-income class. They communicate in varies ways, for instance in many social media about political issues like president election and other issues such health campaign, etc. Then this topic becomes viral and influences the low-income class opinion (www.tempo.co).

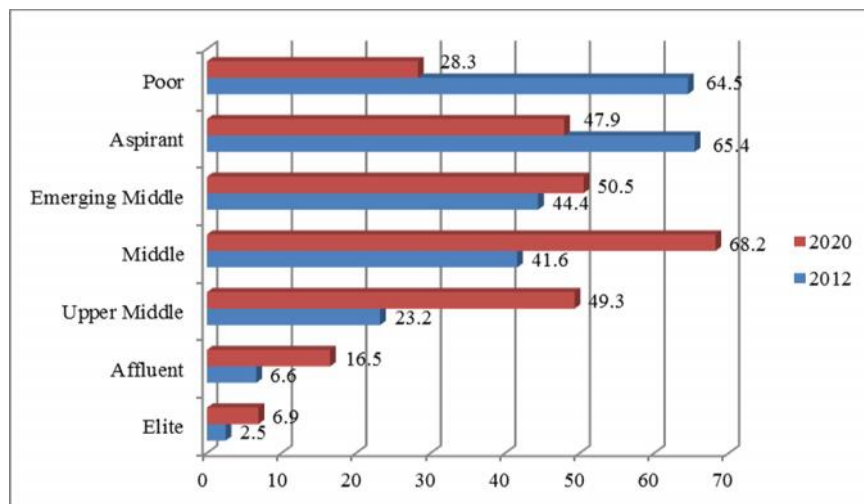


Figure 5.1. Number of Middle-Income Class Projection in Indonesia (in millions)

Source: <http://www.finansialku.com/siapa-saja-kelas-menengah-indonesia/>, 2014

The growth of middle-income class in Indonesia can be seen from gross domestic product, which revealed the increasing of community consumption. Characteristic of this class tends to be consumptive in secondary and tertiary goods. Based on The

Global Competitiveness Report 2013, consumption of Indonesian people shared the highest in the world. This fact related to middle-income class bubble in 2012.

Country	Population (Millions)	GDP (US\$ Billions)	GDP as Share (%) of World Total
Singapore	5.2	276.5	0.39
Malaysia	28.9	303.5	0.60
Brunei Darussalam	0.4	16.6	0.03
Thailand	69.5	365.6	0.78
Indonesia	242.3	878.2	1.46
Filipina	94.9	250.4	0.51
Vietnam	87.8	138.1	0.39
Cambodia	14.3	14.2	0.04
Myanmar	48.3	53.1	0.11
Laos	6.3	9.2	0.02

Table 5.1. Comparison of Community Consumption in ASEAN

Source: The global Competitiveness Report 2013-2014, Klaus Schwab, World Economic Forum

Consumerism of middle-income class is shown by their lifestyle; have more than one car, many houses, use smartphone, and less than 5 years they will change all of it. On the contrary, they have not financial security so that very susceptible to the economic fluctuation (nasional.kompas.com). Self-imaging becomes something important to them; wearing famous brand clothes, driving a new brand car, going overseas for recreation. Later on, this lifestyle has also influence to low-income class, though they use the imitation. The certain lifestyle of the middle-income class has also influences on housing preference such as housing location, housing design, and housing price.

Middle-income class bubble in Indonesia raises housing demand in inner-city, because of accessibility reason. Therefore, competition in housing occupy surge extremely and lead rent gap. Inner-city housing, including inner-city kampong are very demanding. The local community who lives in the kampong captures this situation and most of them sell the house to get money. Yet, they cannot sell the land at maximum price, because their house locates in the area where less infrastructures and facilities. Afterward, gentrification starts to occur there which is caused by the middle-income bubble as gentrifier.

5.1.2 Housing Provision Regulation : Concept, Implementation, and Challenges

Housing provision in Indonesia refers to Constitution No.1 the year 2012 about Housing and Settlement and Regulation of the Minister of Housing of the Republic of Indonesia No.10 the year 2012 about Implementation of Housing and Settlement with Residential Zone Balanced. This regulation requires government and private developers to build residential with 1:2:3 concept. This concept means that the government or private developers who develop a residential must build house not only for high-income class and middle-income class, but also for low-income class with the proportion 1 for the high-income class' house (the housing wide is more than 120 m²), 2 for the middle-income class' house (the housing wide is 90 m²), and 3 for the low-income class' house (the housing wide is 70 m²). Basically, residential zone balanced concept addressed housing demand for low-income class; the trend shows that private developers prefer to build housing for the high-income class and the middle-income class. It is because providing a house for the low-income class is full of challenges such as housing price that must be under 100 million rupiahs. Although government gives subsidy to private developers which build low-income class' house, it is not easy to provide a house with proper facilities yet low price.

In fact, it is difficult for the private developer to build the third type (housing for the low-income class) in the same area because the housing price for the low-income class' house will be high. This would be contrary to government regulation related to low-income class house price adjust to the low-income class affordability. Hence, private developer addresses this problem by constructing the low-income class' house in another place but still in the same city. If the private developers build all of these three types of houses in the same site, it will raise the housing price of the low-income class' house. As a result, the peripheral areas are choosing by developers to build the low-income class' house because of the low land price. Yet, this location is far from the community workplace. As a consequence, many houses are vacant because low-income class has no intention to pay more on the transportation cost. Moreover, the houses are bought as investment by another class community which is

middle-income class. It becomes a dilemma for both government and private developer because of wrong target group of housing provision. The government improves transportation system by many programs to solve this problem, yet the dilemma still occurs until now.

Another problem relates housing provision in Indonesia is the limitation of government and private developer affordability. Financial affordability is the main problem for the government in providing the low-income class house. The government emphasizes in public infrastructure development such improvement of the road, drainage and water supply network. Likewise, private developers have also a limitation in the capital and affordability to access vacant land. Vacant land price is really high and very limited number. In general, government ability to build house reach 200.000-300.000 units per year, whereas private developer ability to provide house only 30.000 units per year (bplhd.jakarta.go.id, 2013). Comparing with housing demand reaches 845.000 units per year means that there are deficiencies in housing supply every year. Moreover, it will add housing backlog number that reached out 15 million houses in 2014 (bplhd.jakarta.go.id, 2013).

Housing backlog surges every year so that the government emphasizes community affordability (self-help) in housing provision. Whereas the community is expected to build and to renovate their house, the government is concerned on infrastructure provision. Moreover, the government has also facilitated low-income class to have a house by several programs such as mortgage loan with interest subsidy and down payment assistance. Yet, to get mortgage loan and to access all of the government assistance in housing the low-income class must have fixed salary every month that proved from their workplace (in the form of salary slip). It is difficult for them to fulfil those requirements because most of the low-income class work in informal sector which do not have fixed salary even formal salary slip. Eventually, the government assistance goes to middle-income group. It is because most of them work in the formal sector so that they have fixed salary each month that suits with the assistance

requirement. Most of the middle-income group buy this low-income's class house as their second house or as an investment.

In general, DKI faces the same problem in housing provision. DKI Jakarta government focuses on vertical house (flats) development, while horizontal house (single and landed house) is handled by the private developers through market mechanism. Likewise, community self-help housing is also expected to increase. Housing demand in Jakarta is 70.000 units per year that consists of 60% landed house demand and 40% flat house demand (bplhd.jakarta.go.id, 2013). Housing provision through market mechanism makes low-income class cannot afford to buy a house because of the price. As a result, many people from this class live in slum area or under the bridge in the inner city. Whereas Betawi community as Jakarta's local community lives with their extended family in a small house. House with wide 60 m² is inhabited by 7-10 people. It is because they do not afford to provide a proper house for their family. Likewise, they have also not able to renovate the house because 90% their salary is spent for fulfilling the daily need.

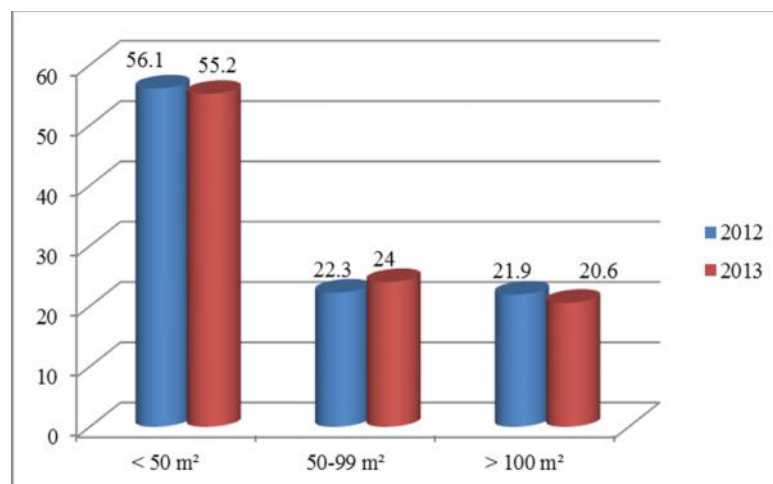


Figure 5.2. Percentage of Population by their housing wide in DKI Jakarta

Source: bplhd.jakarta.go.id, 2013

5.1.3 Rent-gap in DKI Jakarta Province

The urban development implementation in DKI Jakarta province is divided into three categories; primer service area, secondary service area, and tertiary service area

(based on regulation of DKI Jakarta Province number 1 the year 2012 concerning spatial plan 2030). These categories rely on the area function and service level; national level, regional level, and local level. National level related with Jakarta function as the Indonesian capital. All of the public facilities that are needed and supported by this function are built in the primary service area. Whereas secondary service area is addressed to support regional level activities as an autonomous province, the tertiary service area is intended to meet local level (municipal).

Division of service function affects the urban level, land value, and land price. Primer service area has higher land price, facilities level, and accessibility than secondary and tertiary service area. It is located in the first ring of Jakarta. This ring consists of many public service offices such as central government and foreign private sector offices, international banks, and hospital. Likewise, secondary service area has also occupied some province government offices and local private sector offices, universities, and regional shopping center. While tertiary service area is intended to the municipal government office, hospital, school, and residential activities.

Rising land demand in Jakarta relates to population number. Population number in Jakarta in 2016 was 11,2 million people in the morning and 10,1 million at night (www.bps.go.id). This number closes to the population threshold which is 12,5 million in 2030. The difference population number in the morning and at night because many commuters who work in Jakarta and live in the peripheral region such as Bekasi, Tangerang and Bogor. They go to work at morning to Jakarta from other cities (Bogor or Bekasi or Tangerang), then go home at night. A commuter who lives in buffer city of Jakarta is people who lost in this competition. Most of them are newcomers from other cities. 70% of this commuter uses their private vehicle (both car and motorcycle) for work to save transportation cost, while the remaining utilizes public transport (regional train). Yet, not all commuters afford to pay the transportation cost because it takes almost 30% from all of their salaries. As a result, they look for another location for residing which more close to workplace.

Increasing population makes competition to get land is very high so that affect the land price. Likewise, increasing of land price has also influenced by market mechanism system. In general, community prefers to live in a horizontal house than a flat house⁵. While its provision is handled by private developer which make housing price tend to high. Low-income class horizontal house type (36/90 m²) which provides by private developer has price 350-400 million rupiahs, whereas government price standard for this house is less than 100 million rupiahs. The low-income group's salary is not more than 2 million rupiahs per month; therefore they cannot afford to pay the down payment (in a mortgage loan scheme) and housing instalment which reach 1-2 million rupiahs per month. Likewise, not all middle-income groups have also afforded to take this mortgage loan. As a result, both of these groups look for another type and housing scheme provision that fits with their affordability. The middle-income group prefers to buy a second hand (an old) house in unplanned settlement (kampong), while low-income group lives in slum area or under the bridge. Both of them live in the area where lack of facilities and very vulnerable to evict. Since 2007-2012, the Jakarta government had eviction against 3.200 people per month (news.metrotvnews.com). Most of them are people who live in squatter area such as under the bridge, riverbanks, and along railroad tracks. Eviction had also applied in some kampongs and replaced by public infrastructure and public facilities building. Then they displaced to some flats which provided by the government.

5.2 Gentrification Process, based on Time Period

Gentrification is relatively closed to the displacement that it is always crucial and important to understand the process and its implication (Atkinson, 2000; Slater,

⁵ In Indonesia, people prefer to live in a horizontal house (a landed house) than live in a flat. They feel unfamiliar and uncomfortable live in a house which does not have a terrace or a yard; use elevator in their daily life. This perception is owned not only low-income class but also middle and up-income class (the whole communities). Therefore, in all of the eviction programs that run by the government, there is always a rejection from the communities. One of the reasons is because they do not want to move to flat house which has already prepared by the government. A few people have also think that live in a flat considered as a poor community, therefore they choose to live in landed house, even it is a rented house.

2006). Displacement here can be seen from decreasing of Betawi people in Kampong Kramat Asem and replaced by the gentrifier from other tribes. The population of Kampong Kramat Asem was dominated by Betawi people in 1930 and fell significantly in 1960. Though this number slightly surge in 2000 and 2010, it was lower growth than Java people that dominated recently. While Sudanese showed as dominated tribe in 1961, it is continuous to decrease. Betawi people who moved from this kampong reside in another kampong in Jakarta peripheral region.

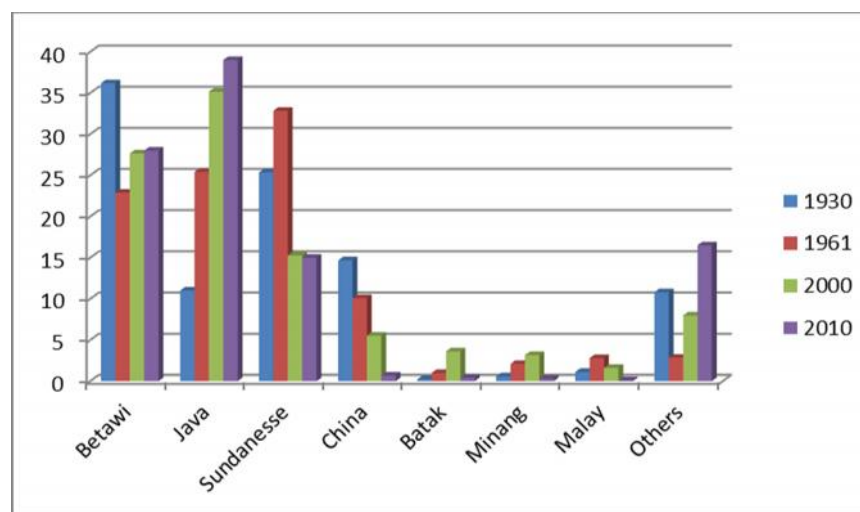


Figure 5.3. Total Population by ethnic in Kramat Asem (in terms of percentage)

Source: jakarta.bps.go.id, 2013

Not only from displacement paradigm, gentrification also can be defined from two main points in its process; influx capital process and transformation of social, economic and spatial of the neighbourhood (Atkinson, 2003). Influx capital process is related with actors who involve and influence the neighbourhood transformation such the community, government and private sector. Hereafter, intervention from actors in influx capital process is framed in urban development implementation which leads some changes of the neighbourhood. Transformation of kampong Kramat Asem is directly influenced by regulation of DKI Jakarta government. There are three milestones which is characterized by actors' intervention and affected the neighbourhood.

5.2.1 Highway Development; 1970s

Improving public service is the main goal of the government by providing better public infrastructures such as highway development project which is handled by the central government. In 1976, central government run the highway project which connected Jakarta's peripheral region (Karawang regency and Bekasi City) to inner-city (Central Jakarta) which locates across the kampong Kramat Asem. Highway development is increasing accessibility from the kampong both to the inner-city and peripheral region so that attracting people to reside in the kampong.

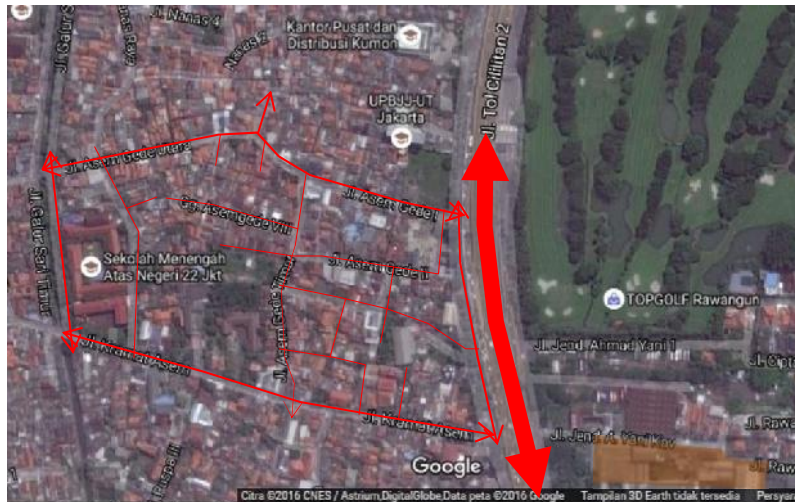
Accessibility is the main reason for newcomer to stay in kampong and mark the presence of long-term gentrifier. Affordable land price and good accessibility make long-term gentrifier can save transportation cost which most of them work in inner city. In the 1980s, the land price in kampong was 150.000 rupiahs per m², while the land price in planned settlement reaches 600.000 rupiahs per m². Some of the long-term gentrifier stayed in a rented house first, because their financial had not established yet. They rented local community's house, and after 5 years, they had already established and afford to buy their own house. They bought local community's house which accordance to their financial affordability. While most of the long-term gentrifier bought the land from the local community since their first presence and directly built the house which took 1-2 years to build it. They built the house with their own money; no government supports such mortgage loan for housing construction. Furthermore, they had not any cars so they utilized public transport or motorcycle in daily activities.

Ali Basir (G-LT-1), one of my interviewees who worked as a civil servant in Ministry of Health of Indonesian Republic is long-term gentrifier that lived in a rented house in the first resided (1989). After 3 years resided, his office offered a house for the employees by means of credit with low-interest rate. It was a very tempting offer, yet the house located in Depok (one of Jakarta's peripheral) which far from the office. At that moment, he took the offer and moved to his own house. At the same time, the house which he rented was offered for sale. Taking a loan from the bank, he

purchased the house and renovated it. Then, he and his wife move back to the kampong and live in their own house, while his house in Depok was sold. He prefers to reside in the kampong because he can save his transportation time; it takes almost 2 hours to reach his office from Depok by using public transport, yet it only needs 30 minutes to get office from the kampong. Furthermore, the existence of highway makes his accessibility to office easier.

Residing in kampong that lack of infrastructures encourages them to get support to improve the neighbourhood. Ali Basir was chosen as community leader since the first time resided in the kampong until 20 years later could engage all community to improve the neighbourhood. They had a meeting to discuss street improvement and decided to ask government support because the community had not afforded to provide self-help infrastructure. Community representatives met the highway contractor as the government agent and asked their support to improve the kampong street in the informal situation; no formal letter or any proposal from the community to government. Because the kampong directly located across the highway, the government gave assistance by improving the kampong main street. This improvement changed the neighbourhood physical appearance. Moreover, it is also increasing local community trust to long-term gentrifier that the gentrifier can act as a good leader. Afterward, the social relationship among them get closer, the community leader can run the entire program smoothly because local community willing to participate.

Overall, this time period has significant influence to kampong transformation. Not only increasing of accessibility, but also the presence of the first gentrifier (long-term gentrifier). Moreover, there is also changing in kampong physical appearance by the street improvement. There are not conflicts and social gaps in the community which can be seen from the close relationship among them.



Location of the highway development

Figure 5.4. Highway development ahead the main road of the kampung

Source: Field observation, 2014

5.2.2 Development of Public and Private Offices; 1980s - 2000

In 1980s-2000, development surrounds the kampung went significantly, it can be seen from many new buildings and new skyscrapers. These are government and private institution offices. Both government and private institutions built the office in this location because in inner-city the land price has already increased extremely. While this location has good accessibility, resided across the main street and highway. Some offices which reside in this location are Directorate General of Customs of the Republic of Indonesia, a government university, police office, and some private company headquarters.

The existence of many new offices attracts many workers which also need a house. These workers also prefer to live in the kampung where really close to their workplace than other places. They are medium-term gentrifier, newcomer who resides in kampung Kramat Asem less than 15 years. The medium-term gentrifier has the same reason with long-term gentrifier in choosing the kampung as their residence. In the first time of residing, almost all of medium-term gentrifier stayed in a rented house. They rented local community's house for several years. It is because of medium-term gentrifier still in the first stage of their career so they have not

established in financial. Hereafter, they have security tenure and occupy an important role at the office; they afford to buy their own house. Similar to the long-term gentrifier, medium-term gentrifier also prefers to live in the kampong than other places. Efficient and effective are the priorities for medium-term gentrifier in deciding residence. Therefore, they choose to buy a house in the kampong which near to the office.

In fact, not all the medium-term gentrifier works in these offices, some of them work in inner-city as a lawyer, banker, and entrepreneurs who run their own business in creative sectors. They run the business by themselves and start with small-scale business. Hence, their affordability in housing provision is low and chooses to live in a rented house. Most of them are the young family with 1 or 2 children who still a baby. Several years (3-5 years) later, their financial has already established and able to buy a house. It was not a new house, but the old house from local community, and then they totally renovated the house with a modern style. Their possibility to have their own house and an opportunity to improve the house are greater than long-term gentrifier was. It is because the government support such mortgage loan either for buying a new house or for the improving previous house. Besides, it is also supported by increasing in income and security of tenure.

Hereinafter, land price in this kampong rises extremely from 150.000 rupiahs per m² in the 1980s to 1 million rupiahs in 1990s (www.properti.kompas.com). In 2016, the land price reached 12 million-16 million rupiahs per m². This amount was the highest land price in the municipality. Capturing this situation, the medium-term gentrifier bought their second house as an investment. Every local community wants to sell the house, they always offered to medium-term gentrifier who live surrounds. Therefore, no wonder medium-term gentrifier owns more than 2 houses.

In this time period, there was also government support in street and drainage network improvement. The entire main streets in the kampong had been constructed by the government, and normalization of drainage network was conducted to minimize annual flood. This improvement and housing renovation made by medium-

term gentrifier change neighbourhood physical appearance significantly. While private sector contributes in certain occasion, such Independence Day commemoration, *Ramadhan* (fasting month) and *Idul Fitri*.



Note:

- : University and Senior High School facilities
- : Government and Private Institutions Offices

Figure 5.5. Development of public and private sector offices that gave influence to the kampung growth

Source: Field observation, 2014

5.2.3 Infrastructure Improvement: 2000 – now

In the last time period, kampung's physical appearance changes significantly because of some intervention from the government and political parties. Government intervention can be seen from the improvement of public transportation. In 2006, DKI Jakarta government launched mass transportation in form of Bus Rapid Transit (*Trans Jakarta*) which connects all of Jakarta's part⁶. The construction of this infrastructure is

⁶ Government of DKI Jakarta Province launched Trans Jakarta as public transport in 2004, and recently almost all of area in this province connected. It provided to address congestion which more severe; Jakarta was awarded as the most jammed city in the world in 2015 (article in Time, <http://bisnis.liputan6.com/read/2323202/10-kota-termacet-di-dunia-jakarta-juaranya>)

conducted into several stages; the part which connected to kampong Kramat Asem operated in 2011. *Trans Jakarta* service facilitates the community movement in daily activities. Moreover, the existence of *Trans Jakarta* has also increased accessibility from kampong to other parts of Jakarta. As a result, this kampong becomes more attractive for newcomer to reside.

Another intervention which affects neighbourhood transformation is from political parties. In Indonesia, there are 15 political parties which always try to attract the community to join with them. Likewise, in the presidential election, governor election, or parliament election, all of these political parties have many programs to get participants as much as possible. For instance, presidential election in 2000, 2009 and 2014, certain political parties gave assistance to the community. Their representative visited kampong Kramat Asem and gave fresh money to the local community as the poor community. Moreover, they had also improved kampong street, constructed kindergarten building, constructed a mosque and contributed in community activities. All of these political parties' contributions increase the neighbourhood physical condition. Besides, the community-particularly local community utilizes the public facilities which served; they can send their kids to kindergarten so that their children do not play all day on the road side.

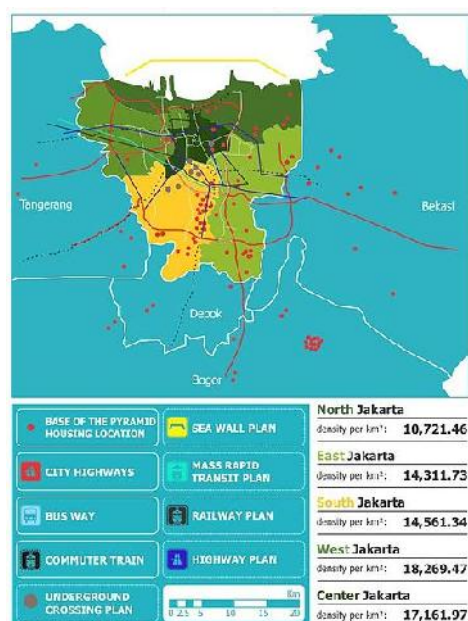


Figure 5.6. DKI Jakarta Transportation Master Plan and Trans Jakarta (Bus)

Source:
https://id.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Berkas:Jakarta_Transportation.jpg&filetimestamp=20130817041125

In this time period, there was still no support from any private institution either which resided in front of the kampong or other private institution for neighbourhood improvement. Responsibility in infrastructures and facilities maintenance belongs to the government. The community cannot afford to take this role. Therefore, when street condition damaged they will wait until the government gives assistance.



Kindergarten facility that was provided by political parties located in the middle of the kampong. This school does not ask for any tuition or any charges to community who send their children in this facility. This facility opens 3 times per week, Monday, Wednesday and Friday for 3 hours per day

Figure 5.7. Facilities improvement initiated by political parties when presidential election in 2004

Source: Field observation, 2014



Kampong's street improvement shapes neighbourhood in a better way, yet many passing vehicle in high speed thus endangering children who almost play in the street all day

Figures 5.8. Street improvement initiated by political parties when presidential election in 2004

Source: Field observation, 2014

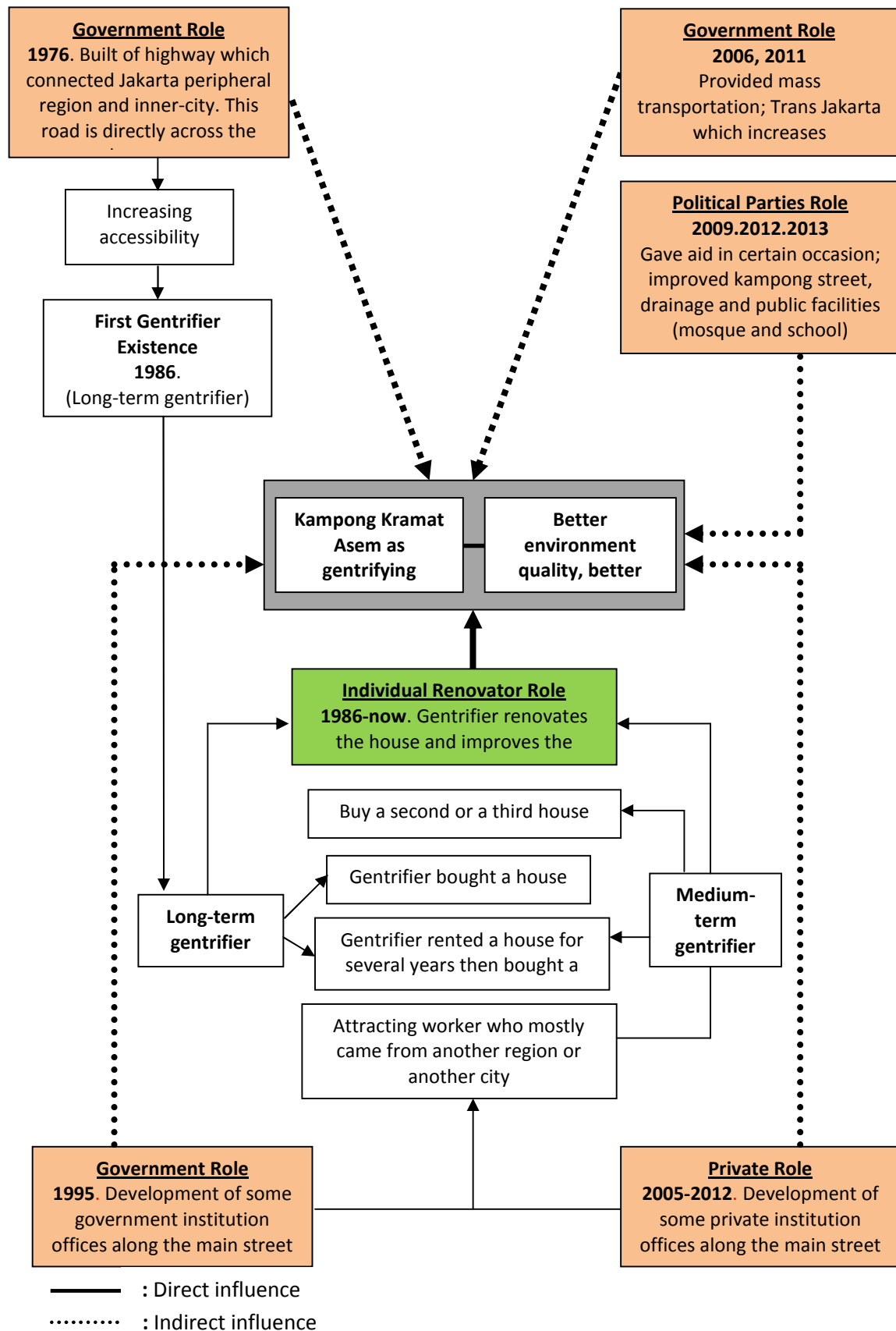


Figure 5.9. Influx Capital Process

Source: Direct interview, 2014

5.3 Neighbourhood Transformations: Gentrification Implications

Jakarta's urban development that leads gentrification process has great influence to the community, both Betawi community and gentrifier. New neighbours, new facilities, and new lifestyle shape the social economic and spatial in a different way. In gentrification process, there are some people who get the benefit from the transformation of the neighbourhood, while the rest are aggrieved. The difference implication here is affected by some factors, such as social status in the neighbourhood, financial security, job, and education level.

Based on population distribution, each time period has different population composition. In kampong Kramat Asem, most population before 1970 was Betawi community (90%), while the remaining were Javanese people, Batak and Minang (Sumatran) people. This composition changed after the presence long-term gentrifier (the 1980s) who replaced local community. Long-term gentrifier number reaches 30% from all of the population. Displacement continues until now in conjunction with the presence of medium-term gentrifier. The number of Betawi community decreased significantly which remained 10% only in 2015.

5.3.1 Social Economic Transformations

Betawi community has a strong family bonding. They live with their extended family in one house, even though they have already married and have children. They also bear and raise their children in the house with the whole family. This living pattern exists in Betawi community until their second generation whom some of them married with the same community (Betawi). While Betawi community who marriage with other communities (Javanese, Sundanese, Borneo and other tribes) have the dissimilar living pattern. Most of this intermarrying group live in their own house with their nucleus family. The parents will divide the inheritance to all of the children; including the house where they reside by selling to gentrifier. Furthermore, they used the money from the parents to buy a new house in another place. Whereas some of

them select to reside in a location where close to the workplace, most of them choose to live in Jakarta's peripheral region which the price is more accessible.

Nana Suryana, (LC-D-1), 48 years old, was my others interviewees as the second generation of *orang gedong*, had lived in the kampong since he was born. He stayed with his parents and his seven siblings in a house, and his parents included as a landlord who had a broad house. He and his seventh siblings are marry with other ethnic groups (Java, Batak and Ambon); only one brother who marries with Betawi people. Furthermore, his parents started to give all of the children a part of land (a parcel of land) or a house to occupy with their new family. Yet, he and his six siblings chose to sell the house and move to other parts of Jakarta; only one sister who stayed in their previous house with their parents (taking care the parents until they passed away). He moved out from the kampong because he wanted to have a broader house than before. He got a house from his parents 70 m², and now he occupies 400 m² lands in Bintaro (Jakarta's peripheral region). Not only he needs more space to bear his children (third generation), but also his new house is located near his new office; it takes 20 minutes to get the office.

Jati (LC-D-2), Nana's aunty, has also the same decision. She moved out from the kampong. She and her three sisters sold the house and stayed in the different location; Bekasi and Tambun (others part of Jakarta peripheral region). After her parents divided the inheritance which means each person got a plot of land or a house, they sold it and bought a new one in different location. The money that she got from selling the house was used to build a new house and the rest money was used to build rent houses (tenements). She has more than 5 tenements (each tenement has broad size 4 x 6 m²) which rented to low-income group 500.000 – 700.000 rupiahs per month. Half of money from rented house she gives to her parents because they have already retired and the rest is saved for her children need (pay school tuition, saving just in case she or her family sick and other needs).

Five years after Jati and her nucleus family resided in a kampong in Bekasi, her three sisters had also moved to the same kampong with her. They prefer to live near their

family even in the new place than stay alone in the new neighbourhood. This situation implies that Betawi community prefers to live in group with the same community.

The similar characteristic of Betawi community who holds strong family bonding has also found in local community who stay in kampong Kramat Asem. They still live together with their big family in one house; they eat together and have a family small informal business. There are some reasons that make them choose to stay such as difficult to sell the house with high price and economical reason. Their house has not certified yet and it is located in a narrow and dense alley, flood every year so that hard to sell the house with high price. On the other hand, if they sell the house then the money will be divided equally to all of the children, it is not enough to buy a new house for each child. Therefore, there is no choice for them beside living together in the same house and run a family small business to survive. Yet, they will sell the house in the future for certain reasons such as they do not any money to feed the family, they need much money for health treatment, marry their children, or evict by the government.

The social relation among Betawi community and long-term gentrifier are also close. Long-term gentrifier elaborates with the community by participating and supporting all of the local culture activities that held by the local community. Moreover, long-term gentrifier has also let their children play with local community's kids. In spite of having a different culture, long-term gentrifier always tries to conceive the situation and considers the local community as their "new family". Long-term gentrifier adopts local culture such as *ondel-ondel*, *rebana*, and firecrackers in marriage or *sunatan* events. They take this culture as their belonging. Good perceiving from long-term gentrifier makes local community respect and appreciates to them. Yet, this close relationship made long-term gentrifier cannot influence the local community to have better live; send the children to school, have a permanent job, and saving money for the worst situation (money for the hospital). Long-term gentrifier do not force the local community because they avoid having some conflicts. However, most of long-

term gentrifier children are stay outside the kampong or out of town because of some reasons such as married with another tribe, pursued for degree from the university outside the town, and work in another city.

Social relation pattern among Betawi community with gentrifier changes when the medium-term gentrifier exists. The medium-term gentrifier is more dynamic than long-term gentrifier and has modern lifestyle; wear brand clothes, ride latest model car, use smartphone in daily communication, overseas holiday and live in modern style house. Medium-term gentrifier forbids their children to play and to interact with local community's kids because they keep of negative influence; elementary school dropout, play all day long, rude in speak and not behave. The medium-term gentrifier prefers to send their children to many vocational courses for instance dancing, swimming, painting, music, and others than playing with their neighbours. This lifestyle leads social gap with the local community. They are rare to have conversation with medium-term gentrifier, the children of this gentrifier even do not know their neighbours such as their name, their home.

The influences of media such as television and social media that blow up the glamor and modern lifestyle as actual news really shape the community significantly. Celebrity, actors, and other famous persons show their new haircut, new branded dress, new houses, new cars etc. Likewise, the medium-term gentrifier has also shows their modern lifestyle. It makes local community imitated the newest style. They also want to have established and better life. Therefore, local community tries to find a permanent job with a permanent salary, sends their children to formal school (public school), and affiliates with public health insurance. At this moment, the government supports community education and health by executing free school-no tuition fee, and public health insurance with low premium. This progressive change is supported by the government of DKI Jakarta Province who provides Jakarta Health Card and Jakarta Smart Card since 2012 (megapolitan.kompas.com, 2012). By using Jakarta Health Card, all of the community can access health facilities freely. Quoted from Dien Emmawati, head of Health Department of DKI Jakarta Province, Jakarta Health

Card as universal coverage means all of Jakarta people can get free access to 340 *Puskesmas* (local health care center located in every district) and 88 hospitals; free from all of the retribution, medicine, hospitalization cost (www.kompasiana.com). Whereas Jakarta Smart Card is addressed to students from the low-income group in elementary school; junior and senior high school, by giving assistance fresh money Rp 240.000 per month to meet school needs, such as books, shoes, transportation cost, and improvement of child nutrition. The government cooperates with Bank DKI to manage this assistance.



Figure 5.10. Jakarta Smart and Health Card as government assistance to community particularly low-income community

Source: www.jakarta.go.id , www.tribunenews.com, sapulidinews.com

Although the medium-term gentrifier prefers to pay some money and do not participate in the community meeting or local cultural activities, the local community can understand. They recognize that medium-term gentrifier very busy with their formal job and their family. It makes the community leader changes from long-term gentrifier to local community. Likewise, mosque committee has also handled by local community after 20 years. Yet, they still ask supervision from long-term gentrifier in certain activities.

While some of women of the local community have also work to fulfil the family needs by working as housemaid in medium-term gentrifier, babysitter, and open small-scale business-small in front of their house. They please to have a new job and thankful to the medium-term gentrifier. This medium-term gentrifier does not only

give them job, but also they help the children needs such as school supplies, and some money for tuition fee (for children who school in private school). This situation shapes social relation among medium-term gentrifier and local community differently. They cannot intimate each other; there is a social gap, but there is no conflict among them. Yet, their relationship changes into the form of employee and employer.

The existence of the medium-term gentrifier does not always give some positive influences to the Betawi community. In some cases, they affect positively; education, job, and better living. Yet, there are negative influences from medium-term gentrifier presences. A modern lifestyle which is really adored by the local community, replaces the local persisting cultures. Local community prefers to have window shopping to supermarket and mall (consumerism), watch television, and use a gadget in communicating than attend *rebana* exercise. They have also considered that presence of *ondel-ondel* and fire cracking in special event just spending their money. They prefer to save the money for family recreation than spend it for presenting *ondel-ondel*. Likewise, the medium-term gentrifier who derive from varies tribes in Indonesia tends to adopt the national or international style in special event.

On the other hand, the social relationship among medium-term gentrifier has also not really strong. They tend to be individualistic and spend their time with the job. They prefer to communicate and have interaction with the other middle-income class such as their office colleagues, and friends, or relatives from the similar tribe. Interaction with their neighbours who are also middle-income group has only in a certain situation and very rare. Moreover, some of them do not know each other and do not greet each other when meeting such in kampong streets or shops.

5.3.2 Spatial and Physical Transformations

Dissimilarities between local community and gentrifier in economic condition affect their affordability in housing and neighbourhood improvement. As government regulates that housing provision emphasizes on self-help so that community role is

very important. A local community who has salary not more than 2 million rupiahs per month cannot afford to renovate their house which almost 90% from their salary spent to fulfil daily needs (food, transportation, social and communication expenditures). Their house condition is still the same since the first built by their parents or their grandparents.

On the other hand, long-term gentrifier has renovated the house in small scale gradually. No government support for housing renovation (no mortgage loan) and infrastructure provision, so that they live in the neighbourhood where has poor street quality, poor drainage system which leads flood every year, no water supply network, and no waste network. Housing renovation which is conducted by long-term gentrifier changes the neighbourhood's physical appearance. Yet, it is a gradual change, means that long-term gentrifier renovates the house in small-scale accordance to their financial affordability. Moreover, in renovating the house, they take the conventional builder from the local community which less paid than a professional contractor. In long-term gentrifier's house renovation, there is not any house design as guidance. They just ask the handyman what they need; add a room, room renovation, etc. Most of long-term gentrifier works in government institutions (civil servant) and paid 2-4 million rupiahs per month. They spend 70% from the salary to fulfilling daily needs and the remaining use for recreation, saving, and housing improvement.

Housing improvement which is conducted by the medium-term gentrifier has really significant; they totally renovate the house, both the building material and the style. They demolished the previous house and constructed the new one which more modern in style, terraced house, and have wide garage for their cars. They prefer to take professional contractor than a conventional builder from the local community because professional contractor has already proven their expertise. Although medium-term gentrifier must pay extra cost, they feel more satisfied. This is correlated to their economic affordability. Working in the formal sector as professional, banker, lawyer and creative industry entrepreneur, the medium-term

gentrifier has a salary more than 7 million rupiahs per month. Comparing with regional minimum wage standard which 2,7 million rupiahs per month, so the medium-term gentrifier income is high. The medium-term gentrifier has also supported the street and drainage improvement by donating some money to the community.

Community's affordability in housing improvement influences the neighbourhood quality. Whereas long-term gentrifier has resided in the block where most of the population are local community (Asem Gede 1 street), medium-term gentrifier lives in blocks where the number of population dominated by gentrifier (Asem Gede 2 street). Therefore, there is a dissimilarity in the physical appearance; long-term gentrifier' block is seen slum and dense, while medium-term gentrifier' block looks tidier.

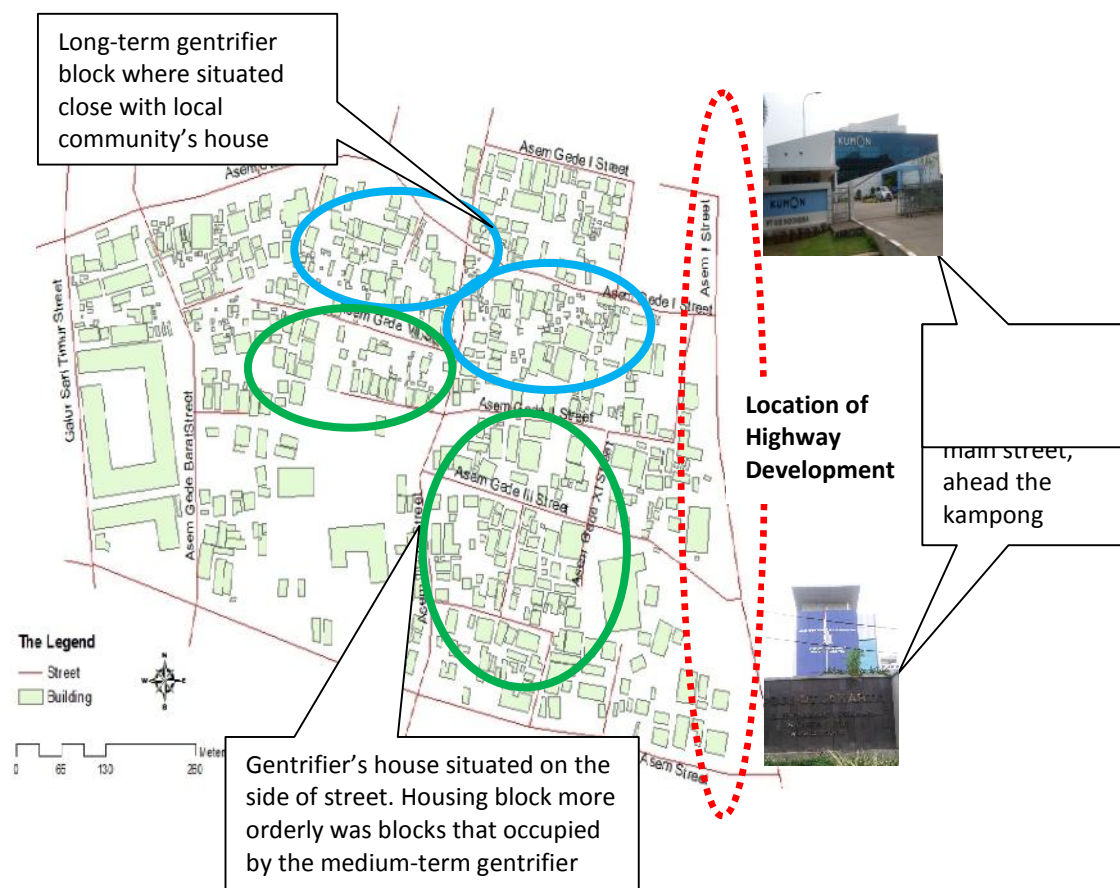


Figure 5.11. Location and situation of medium and long-term gentrifier blocks

Source: Field observation, 2014

Although local community and gentrifier have dissimilarities in income, job, and educational level, they have similarity related to land legalization. Most of local community's house are not certified yet; proof of land ownership in the form of land deed document which legalizes by the local community leader, not from government land institution. In this document, all of the family give a sign as a proof that they have the same right belongs the land. Likewise, medium-term gentrifier has also taken this matter as a simplified thing. The most important thing is that they can buy a new house with low price as much as possible. They do not register the house since the first time they bought it until now because it does not any land dispute. Moreover, they do not want to pay more on the tax. On the contrary, long-term gentrifier more concerns on this matter; it can be seen from the land status document. After they bought land or house from local community, they directly register the house ownership to government land office to get the legal certificate. They consider that this document is very important to avoid any conflict with local community's descendant in the future.

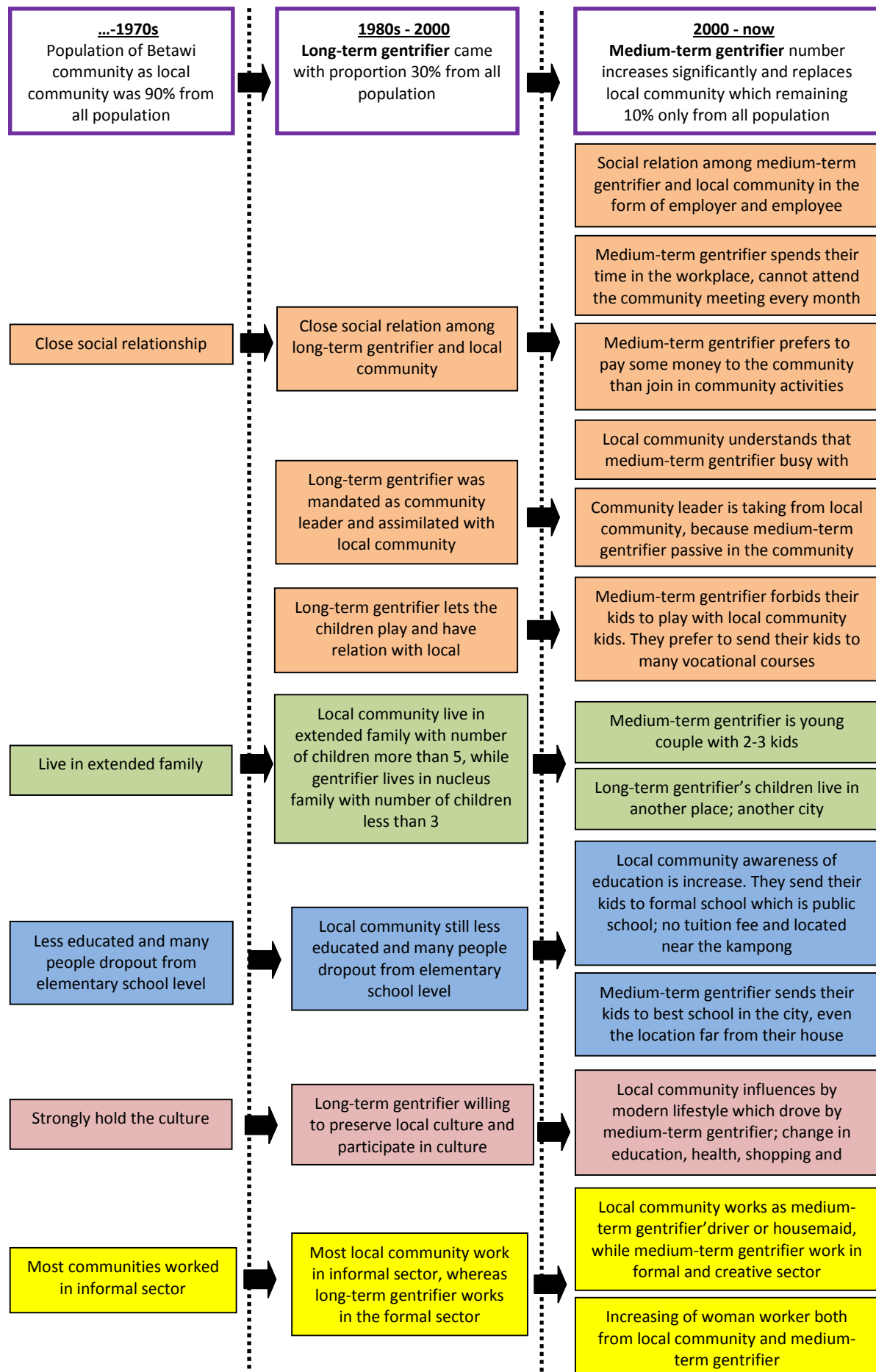


Figure 5.12. Social Transformations in Kampong Kramat Asem

Source: Direct interview, 2014

Neighbourhood physical transformation can also be revealed from the improvement of public infrastructures and facilities. As mentioned before that Kampong Kramat Asem has poor quality of some infrastructures such as street, drainage, drinking water and waste. Every rain season, this kampong is always flooded, because the poor drainage system (not interconnected each other) and many garbage which dumped in the drainage network. The flood damaged the street, corrosion on the housing (building). Both local community and gentrifier get use to this annual flooding. While for drinking water consumption, they utilize artesian wells which most all of the community use it because they did not get any access to drinking water network. After the government provides this infrastructure, the community still utilizes the well because the well water quality is better than water quality of drinking water network. Besides, using artesian wells considers more economically than subscribe the drinking water network which they must pay for the service every month. However, some of the medium-term gentrifiers have these two kinds of drinking water provisions; both artesian wells and subscribe drinking water network.

Waste management in Kampong Kramat Asem is handled by a private institution. The garbage is carried from the community two times a week and then collected in the temporary garbage dump. Furthermore, the garbage will be carried to final garbage dump. The location of temporary garbage dump is in the kampong, so the private institution rent a vacant land and must pay 250.000 rupiahs per month to the land owner. Besides, this institution also must pay hauling truck which carried the garbage from the temporary garbage dump to final garbage dump 150.000 rupiahs per each carrying. To get this service, the community must pay 20.000 – 60.000 rupiahs per month to the private institution. The amount of community contribution is determined by waste production and community's affordability. Whereas most of the local community pay not more than 30.000 rupiahs per month for waste service, gentrifier contributes more than 40.000 rupiahs per month.

Hereafter, local community displacement still occurs which they sold the house to the medium-term gentrifier. Even though the medium-term gentrifier has already owned

house, they still buy another house as an investment. They realize that housing value in the kampong will rise every year because the kampong is located in a strategic location and the neighbourhood change into better condition. They change the second house become rent house (divided into some tenements), shops or food stalls. They rent the tenements to another medium-term gentrifier who mostly in their first stage career - have not established yet, and young family. Generally, the tenements rent price is 12 million rupiah or more per year.

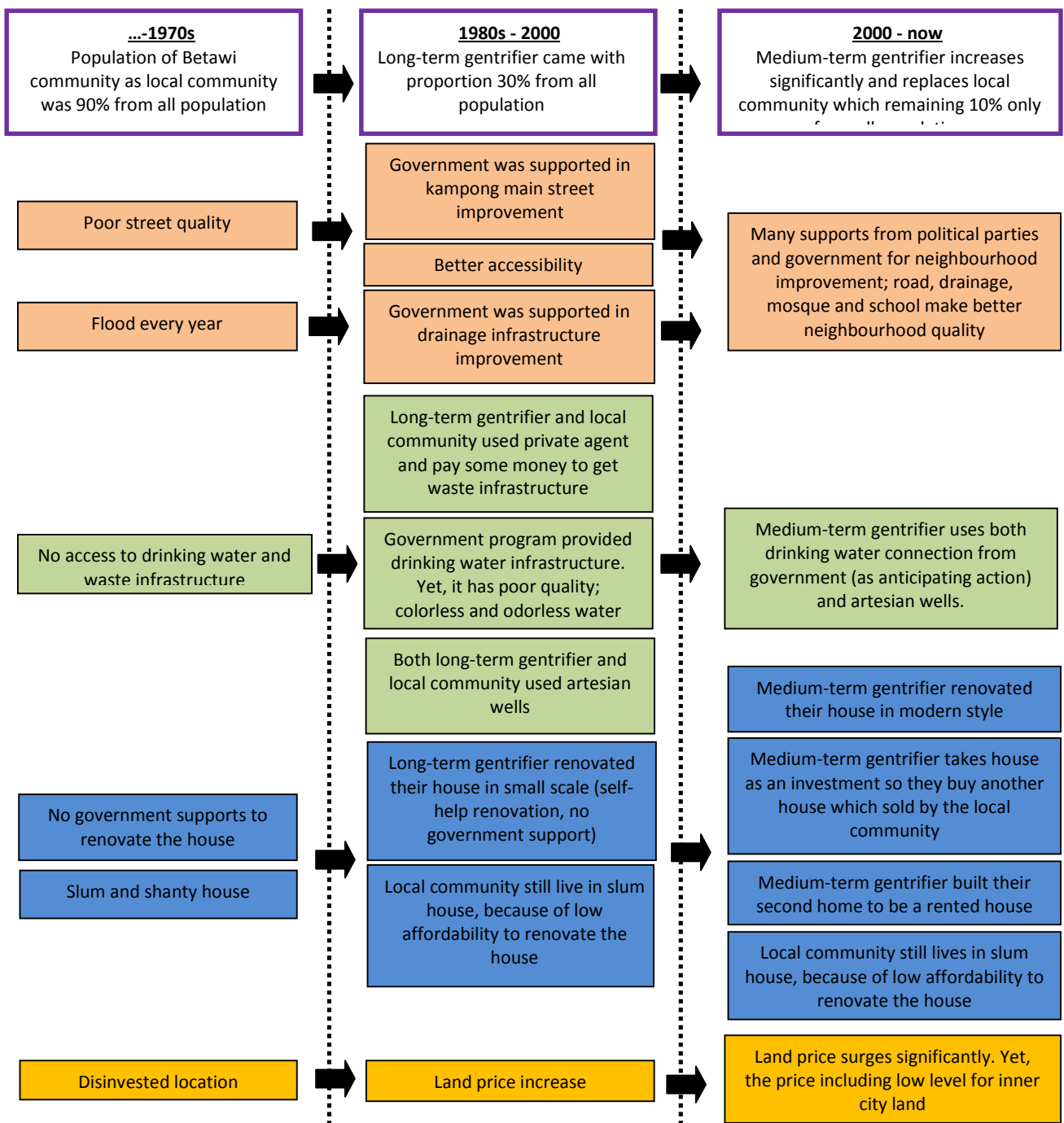


Figure 5.13. Transformations of Spatial and Physical Aspect in Kampong Kramat Asem

Source: Direct interview, 2014
Gentrification Process in DKI Jakarta, Indonesia

5.4 Conclusion

Gentrification in kampong Kramat Asem relates to the presence of newcomer who needs a house; then displacement process occurred. Competition to get house is surge significantly due to the development surround the kampong and increasing of accessibility. Increasing of population number makes housing demand rise and competition to occupy a house more tightly in inner-city. House price in planned settlement is very high, so that live in inner-city kampong become a realistic option because of the price is still affordable. Although this settlement lacks of infrastructure, it has good accessibility. On the other hand, the urban development which is run the government influence to the surging of living cost. It makes most of Betawi community cannot survive in this situation and decide to sell the house. They have also captured the high demand for housing in inner-city so they consider this as an opportunity to sell the house. They had a voluntary displacement to get a benefit (Browb-Saracino, 2009). Hereafter, displacement of Betawi community is as a key symptom of gentrification started (Smith, 1979).

The second factor that leads gentrification is the middle-income class bubble in Indonesia, it occurred after the economic crisis in 1998. They are medium-term gentrifier who gives great influence to the kampong. They renovated the house which then becomes totally different from the previous style; they also offer new job for local community such driver, gardener, housemaid and babysitter (for women local community). The medium-term gentrifier has also affected Betawi community with their modern lifestyle. Therefore, like Hamnett (2003) said that existence of medium-term gentrifier as part of middle-income class transformed the social and economic of the community in neighbourhood.

The existence of two causes of gentrification in kampong Kramat Asem is related to government regulation in urban development. Housing provision regulation which emphasizes on market mechanism makes difficult for the government to control the land price so that lead the rent gap. On the other hand, government economic regulation, improvement of education system and public infrastructures bring out the

middle-income class bubble. This class has preference to live in accessible location with affordable price. Therefore, inner-city kampong is an option to reside. On the other hand, most of the local community cannot able to live in neighbourhood with high living cost standard. It makes them sell the house and move to peripheral region. Afterward, gentrifier, government, and others intervention transform the neighbourhood appearance.

Regarding gentrification process, it can be analyzed from influx capital process and transformation of population, social economic and physical spatial of the neighbourhood (Atkinson, 2003). In influx capital process, gentrifier has a significant role as individual innovators (key actor). Long-term gentrifier considers as pioneer who influences the changes of the local community and transformation of the neighbourhood. They renovate the house so that change the physical appearance of the neighbourhood. Likewise, improvement of public infrastructures and facilities from the government and political parties has also transformed the neighbourhood. The existence of gentrifier has also changed population, social economic and physical spatial of the neighbourhood. However, there are some points which remain the same.

The persisting aspect	The changing aspect
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family type; extended family type in Betawi community and nucleus family type in gentrifier • Not served of waste infrastructure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education level which tends to increase • Occupational heterogeneity and increasing of working women • Recreation orientation • Increasing of standard of living • Housing better equipped • Infrastructure improvement

Table 5.2. Neighbourhood Transformations in Kampong Kramat Asem

Source: Field observation, 2014

Based on gentrification stages (Clay, 1979), gentrification in kampong Kramat Asem is entering the second phase. It can be seen from several symptoms such as the increasing of land price, changing of physical appearance, supporting from bank to renovate the house either new house or old house and no local cultural preservation.

Besides, the medium-term gentrifier becomes house speculators who buy the second and even the third house as an investment in the same kampung. Gentrifier's social organization does not establish yet and no conflict among the community. Another characteristic of second phase of gentrification can be seen from the government assist such as in housing and infrastructures provision. Yet, the government role is still limited in the neighbourhood transformation.

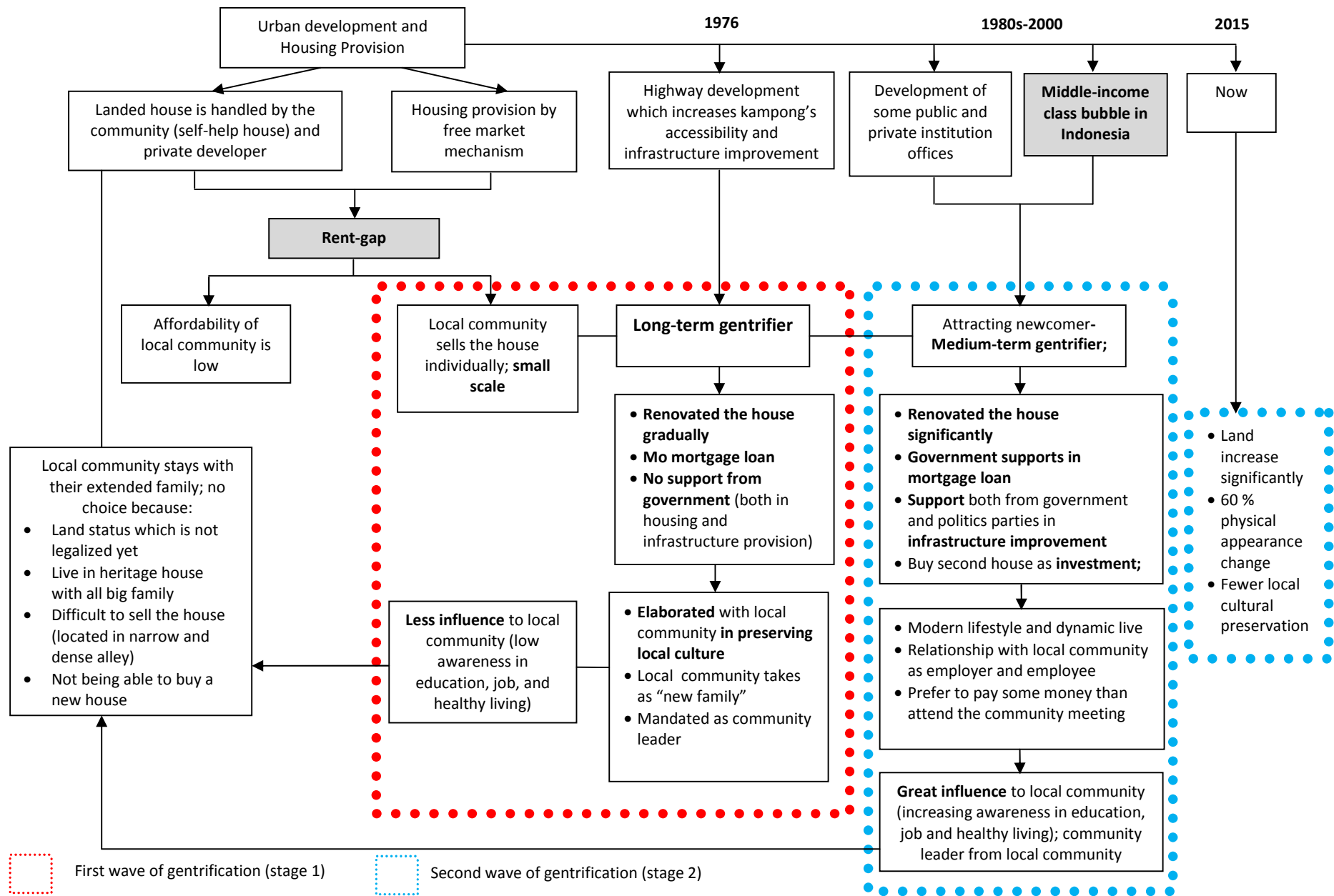


Figure 5.14. Gentrification Stages

Source: Author, 2015

GENTRIFICATION LED BY INDIVIDUAL RENOVATOR AND ITS IMPLICATION TO THE NEIGHBOURHOOD TRANSFORMATION

6.1 Stay or Move: Displacement; Gentrification Implication

Urban development policy and its implementation in housing and infrastructures provision shape the community in a different way; it brings advantages and disadvantages for the community. Government policy in low-income housing provision, home loan interest rate policy, down payment subsidy are intended to provide formal house; it needs loan guarantees such as land certificate and proof of payment. As a consequence, not all of the community can access these programs; local community is included as a community who cannot apply. Improvements of the neighbourhood such as street and sanitation facilities change the neighbourhood appearance significantly and increase the land price.

In one side, social economic and physical transformation also shape the neighbourhood differently; new neighbours, new houses, new shops, and a new lifestyle. These shifts have also influenced community options; stay in a new neighbourhood or move to another place. Local community, who stay, takes the benefit from quality of live enhancement. Kampong which previously as a decaying area turns into highly contested location. On the other side, local communities who are paid under minimum wage standard in their informal job cannot afford to pay health insurance, higher education for their children, or even renovate the house properly. High demand for land in an accessible location and inability to fulfill basic needs drive the local community to sell the house to the newcomer.

Shifting in population composition; the number of newcomer is higher than the local community, has also affected community options to stay or to move. Betawi community holds strong relationship and family bonding so they prefer to stay close to all of the family. Therefore, if one of the family sells the house and move, he will be

influenced others to move away. Those who stay because they cannot sell the house; they need a job from gentrifier; they get a job easier because they have many relatives in the kampong rather than move in a new place and start everything from the beginning.

The local community who sold the house is mostly the second generation of Betawi people who had intermarrying, while they who marry with Betawi people tend to stay. Marry with other tribes influences to the family bonding, how their perspective related to comfortable live and standard of living. They are more realistic and can compromise with the situation; they realize that it is impossible to bear children in one house (60-100 m²) that is occupied by more than 7 persons. They also choose to live near workplace to reduce transportation cost and avoid the congestion even though the new place is quite far from their previous family house. Recently, this *orang gedong* who had intermarrying has a big family meeting bimonthly in turns from one family to another. In every meeting, they bring Betawi traditional food as energizer to strengthen the bonding. While *orang kampong* who marry with the same Betawi people emphasizes on family intimacy, physically they live close each other or together in one house. Reside in a narrow house is not a big matter for them, and they can accept it; comfortable aspect is ignored.

Most of the second generation of *orang gedong* sold the house because they want to live in a broader house than their previous house (their parent's house). Then they built a house and some tenements (as an investment). Another reason is they want to live close to the workplace. While the second generation of *orang kampong* sell the house because they need money to pay the health service and pay debt. It is because most of Betawi community likes gambling even for *orang kampong*. They lose their money, their property even their house for gambling then they have to live in tenements. On the other hand, no legal land certificate has also become a trigger for local community to sell the house. There was a conflict among the children and another family related to the home ownership. As a result, the house was sold and the money was distributed to the whole family to avoid conflict.

Orang gedong gives and divides all the properties and assets to the children equally. Then decision to reside is submitted to each child, either stay in Kramat Asem or move to another place. While *orang kampung* has a limited asset so they choose to live together in the kampung. They will sell the assets and give it to the children when they really need money, such as to marry their kids, pay school tuition, buy motorcycle, etc. In fact, this situation is rare, they prefer to take a debt from a save and loan institution than sell the house⁷. Taking a loan from this institution with high interest makes *orang kampung's* life getting hard. They take one loan to pay another loan. Finally, when *orang kampung* cannot afford pay the loan, they have no choice but selling the house.

Having good relationship has not only found in Betawi people, but also between local community and the gentrifier. The existing gentrifier, who has been living for long and medium-term do not consider as a threatening person by the local community who will replace them and take their house. A local community who sold the house does not blame for being evicted, yet they feel grateful and thankful to the gentrifier because they are willing to buy the house with a proper price. It was really assisted them; when they need money. Likewise, the local community who stay has also assisted because the gentrifier offers them a job. Some local people who do not work as medium-term gentrifier's worker run a small business by using their house as stall; they sell food (traditional food), small grocery; which most of the buyers are the medium-term gentrifier' house renter. This good relationship is not only found between the second generation and medium-term gentrifier, but also between long-term gentrifier and the first generation of local community.

⁷ Generally, in Indonesia, there are many formal and informal saving and loan institutions, besides formal banks. Most of these institutions are located in middle of the neighbourhood. Some of them have a legal formal permit from the government, but some of them work illegally. The community, especially *orang kampung* does not understand about the legacy of the institution. The most important thing is they can get a loan even they do not have any guarantee. Therefore, when some problems or conflict arise between the community and the institution, they do not get assist, protection and guarantee from the government.

From gentrifier s' stand point, living in unplanned and unsupported infrastructures kampong, does not mean a decreasing in the quality and standard of life. They emphasize to have more than one house as an investment; cheap house price in an accessible location. They realize and know well that having a house in this kampong is a good investment; land price increase every year, good accessibility-no jam, and less of flood. They can get many financial benefits; they bought the house then renovated into a few rooms to be rented. The evenly size of the room rented between 25-40 m² which partitioned into 3 parts; multipurpose room (as a living room and or as a dining room), bedroom and kitchen also a bathroom. All of the rooms are unfurnished and the rental cost is differed with respect to additional (extra) facilities such as air conditioner, lots of parking. With all of these additional facilities, the tenant must pay 2 million rupiahs per month, while no extra facilities they must pay 1-1,5 million rupiahs per month. The cost for electricity, clean water, and waste sanitation are excluding the rent cost. They must contribute to the community dues as well.



Figure 6.1. One of rented houses in Kampong Kramat Asem which owned by the medium-term gentrifier

Source: Field observation, 2015

6.2 Reshaping Social Relationship in Kampong Kramat Asem

Gentrification in kampong Kramat Asem changes the neighbourhood significantly, yet there are some entities which are similar since the first generation. Some of them are still exist in this kampong and live with all of their nucleus family. In Betawi community, it is common to live together; first to third generation in a heritage house.

Another characteristic which is still exist related to Betawi community is relationship. When they were asked how long they will stay with all of his extended family, they revealed that they love to stay until the end of the time; or when they are evicted by government programs. Some eviction programs showed that displacement of local community needed to be done for the better situation. The eviction of Betawi community has already occurred since 1970 when the government run urban development program. For instance, eviction of Kampong Pulo in 2015, many Betawi people lived in this kampong since their first generation (1930). This kampong situated adjacent with the Ciliwung River which caused flood every year, so that the government conducted river normalization and displaced the community to the flats which were provided to them. They felt objection with government program because they had already settled there since they were born, yet there was no choice. Reflecting from eviction case, it shows that the community must obey the government policy and there is no option but move to the place where the government has prepared. Yet, if they can choose, they prefer to stay in kampong Kramat Asem until they pass away than other places, because they have emotion bonding with the place. They can live in any places if they connect (together) with the family.

6.2.1 Persistent Aspect in Gentrifying Neighbourhood

In kampong Kramat Asem, the second or the third generation of Betawi community marry with the same Betawi people, so that they have the same culture. Living in a house with an area of 60 m² with 2-3 bedrooms which is inhabited by the three families; 7-10 persons, makes a lot of their activities conducted outside the house; the house is only used as a place to sleep or as a business place. Children play on the street all day, while parents chat with neighbours or relatives in the roadside are the common thing in this kampong.

The existence of gentrifier in this kampong does not change Betawi community's habit. Ali Basir, when he was being interviewed said that in fact, he is disturbed with

local community's habit; when he prays, nap time for his children, study time in the afternoon or time to sleep at night, his surround is still noisy by passing vehicles, sound of *dangdut* music that loud or children's voice screaming and run. This situation can be found in all of kampong part; the kampong part where is resided by Betawi community and the kampong blocks of gentrifier is located.

Even though both long and medium-term gentrifiers are annoyed with local community habits, they choose to ignore it; Ali said that they are reluctant to have any conflict with Betawi community. Yet, some of medium-term gentrifier said that if there is an option they prefer to move in other planned residential, when they have money to buy a new house in that residential. Naturally, they prefer to reside in planned residential with good accessibility, no flood, and better infrastructures. Even though there are many residential with luxurious infrastructures, it is located in peripheral area. So, they prefer to stay in the kampong and try to adapt to the situation.

Although the number of gentrifier is higher than local community, it does not imply that they can change the Betawi habit, particularly bad habit; Betawi community does not imitate the gentrifier' lifestyle. Not all of Betawi habits are influenced by gentrifier' lifestyle; Betawi people love to have chat with others all day long even on the roadside. They are glad to chat, talk and laugh loudly with others. Whereas long-term gentrifier is tolerant to the local community's habit and keep communicate with them, medium-term gentrifier tend to permissive; build high and close fence to diminish the noisy and less interaction with them.



Figure 6.2. Street atmospheres in kampong Kramat Asem

Source: Field observation, 2014

Gentrifier considers that they are newcomer who should adapt the neighbourhood and understand the culture. Moreover, they avoid any conflict or have any deal with the local community, because having any conflict with this community will annoy their life even their kids as the second generation who also bear in the same neighbourhood. It means that gentrifier has the willingness to accept gentrification inconveniences (Rose, 1984; Schlichtman et.al, 2014). Having this willingness creates good social relationship between local community and gentrifier; local community informs and understands the gentrifier's characteristics. For instance, many medium-term gentrifier cannot attend the community meeting every month, yet the local community knows that medium-term gentrifier is a busy person who has tight working time. Moreover, medium-term gentrifier often contributes in many community events such as Indonesia's Independence Day celebration, cultural ceremony (such *pengantin sunat* and *lenong*), and religious activity (*khataman Al Quran*, *rebana*, Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha activities). They contribute by giving money, food, or souvenirs as their contribution to these activities. Local community perceives that medium-term gentrifier cares to the neighbourhood so that their relationship is remain good.

Another fact that local community has a close relationship can be seen from their bonding to the kampong. Boim (my mother-in-law neighbour), 52 years old, the second generation of local community, had moved out from the kampong after his parents (the first generation) sold their house in 2010 because they needed money to cure his parents. While his siblings, chose to stay in their children's house in Kramat Asem. He moved to Parung where located 70 km from their kampong in another city (Bogor) with his wife, his only daughter, his son-in-law, and his two grandchildren. Previously, he worked as a driver in a medium-term gentrifier family and also worked in a *dangdut* music group in a wedding ceremony, *sunatan* or other cultural events. As a traditional drummer and flute player, he was paid 200.000 rupiahs for each event. Whereas his wife had also resigned from a taxi company that located in inner-city, his daughter and his son-in-law were a jobseeker. Finding a new job is not easy, because he graduated only from elementary school, no skills except playing traditional drum and flute. Facing financial problems, no support from his family and live in the new neighbourhood makes him depress. It is really different when he lived in Kramat Asem. When he had no money to feed his family, he could owe his neighbour and paid it after he got wage. Moreover, his neighbours often gave some food or money for his family. In 2013, Boim and his family sold the house and moved back to kampong Kramat Asem and lived in a small rent tenement (20 m² inhabited by 4 adults and 2 children). He must pay 500.000 rupiahs per month for the tenement. His previous boss who is medium-term gentrifier asked him back to be a driver to drop off and pick up the children from school. While his wife gets a job in salon, his son-in-law is accepted as a courier in a company. When he has a spare time, he chats with his Betawi neighbour, plays Domino card or just drinks a cup of coffee with them.

Another aspect which does not change after gentrification emerges in kampong Kramat Asem is the provision of waste infrastructure. Since the first generation of local community has lived in the kampong, they do not have access to this infrastructure; whereas other infrastructures such water and street infrastructures are already provided by the government. While the first generation manages their

waste by burning trash in their yard, the second generation throws garbage into the river or must pay some money to a private hauling institution to manage the garbage. Gentrifier has also utilized private hauling institution to take up their garbage (see picture 6.3). When some local communities and gentrifier were interviewed, they pay different contribution to the institutions. The contribution varies with range 20.000 – 40.000 rupiahs per month. Both local community and gentrifier do not know why their contribution are dissimilar, yet they reluctant to ask this and tend to permissive. From the waste private institution interview, it is known that the different amount of dues is differ with respect to the amount of waste that generated each household and affordability to pay which subjectively determined by the institution. While Boim, revealed that he does not subscribe to the private hauling institution because he feels objected with the contribution he must pay. He throws the garbage directly to temporary waste landfills in the kampong.

Marry in young age (18-20 years old) is still exists in this kampong and it is a common thing in Betawi community. They are the third generation of local community who has 2-3 kids with close birth spacing (the range between 1 to 2 years). As young parents who graduated from elementary school, the husband works as a courier, office boy or security, whereas the mother bears the kids at home. Their income is less than 1.5 rupiahs million per month that is spent for fulfilling the daily need and paying motorcycle installments. They need this motorcycle to go to the workplace; especially for couriers who are required by the office to have a motorcycle. When they are not affording to pay the installment, the leasing takes back the motorcycle. It is a common situation in this young family. Several months later, they buy another motorcycle by credit, and the similar situation will occur whenever they do not have money to pay the installments. These young families are still supported by their parents to fulfill the daily needs such as giving some money.

The young married couple is found since the first generation of local community, because they consider school is not important, especially for a female. The most important thing for female is they can cook, clean the house, and bear the kids.

Having good education or not will be the same for female because of their role as a housewife at house. My mother-in-law (LC-S-1) told that she was banned to go to school for exams and her mother asked her to go to traditional market shopping for feeding the family. Her mother did not care about the exams because it was not important for her. All of Betawi people; *orang gedong* and *orang kampung*, the first generation or the second generation; do not concern on school, particularly for a female. Therefore, the young marriage rate is still high. All of these young married couples are Betawi people (they married with the other Betawi). Yet, for the second generation who has intermarrying with other tribe, they have dissimilar perspective related to school. They want a better life by sending their children to school, even to university level; no young married trend found in this people.



Figure 6.3. Waste infrastructure conditions in kampung Kramat Asem

(a) Temporary landfills which located near main entrance of the kampung;
 (b) Manual waste carrier equipment; (c) Garbage bin in front of one of the medium-term gentrifier's house; (d) Garbage bin at the kampung roadside that not well-maintained

Source: Field observation, 2014

6.2.2 Aspect that Changed in Gentrifying Neighbourhood

Gentrification which influences neighbourhood can be seen from the transformation of community's education level, jobs heterogeneity, standard of living, housing and infrastructures, also recreation orientation. These transformations can be found in a block where medium-term gentrifier's reside, that is in the east part of the kampung. While at the block where long-term gentrifier's live, these social and economic shifting do not occur. It is because long-term gentrifier has simpler lifestyle and housing condition than medium-term gentrifier, so that gap between local community and long-term gentrifier is narrow. Local community perceives long-term gentrifier as part of them which means similar to them.

a. Increasing of Community's Education Level

The presence of kindergarten facility in the kampung makes many parents sending their children there. Previously, most of the local community did not take kindergarten, yet they directly went to elementary level⁸; they thought that kindergarten level was not important and waste their money. Nowadays, they prefer to send the children to school than play in roadside all day. Moreover, they do not have to pay any money, because this facility is free. The kampung gets support from the local and national government to carry out the educational activities.

Before 2000, the third generation of local community graduated from elementary school level only. They were under 20 years old and worked as labor in construction activity, industry labor and other rough works. They were paid less than 100.000 rupiahs per week for 8 hours working time per day so that they could not do many things with their income and included as poor family. Even the government has compulsory 9th-year education which means obligatory for all people to take a minimum level of education such as elementary school and junior high school level,

⁸ Education system in Indonesia adopts 9-year compulsory education; from elementary to junior high school level, so many low-income people did not consider the important of kindergarten level. Free tuition fee had only for elementary to the senior high school level, whereas kindergarten had tuition fee.

they do not send the children to school. Since 2004, the central government has emphasized their program to increase the quality of human resources by giving the community access to school, many assistance such as improvement of school buildings, books, and school buses.

The changing of school orientation of the second generation of local community is influenced by the way medium-term gentrifier sends their children to the best school in the city. The local community also wants their kids to get a good education, so that later on they deserve a better life. Consequently, the local community sends their children to school, although only for junior high school suits with the government program. Most of them do not pursue senior high school, yet take some vocational courses such as computer, administration (bookkeeping), bridal makeup, or babysitter; it took 6-12 months. The main reason why they choose these courses than pursue senior high school is because they want to have skills so that they can get a job soon. If they pursue senior high school, they do not have a certain skill; because senior high school graduate is prepared to precede the university which looks like impossible for them. The trend of education level rising has also supported by the government program that in 2015 they increased the standard for compulsory education from 9th to 12th, means people must get education from elementary school to senior high school level (www.kompasiana.com, 2015). This program means all of the Indonesian kids must go to school until senior high school that government supports with the education facilities and free of any charges. Shifting of the importance of education perspective can be found in the second generation of local community, whereas first generation tends to be less concern about education. They prefer their children directly get a job than go to school so that they can contribute to family financial. Their perspective is influenced by the condition on their era; only the rich family sent the kids to school, while the others should work to get feed the family. This perspective is owned by *orang kampung*.

Although school orientation trend tends to surge, there is still elementary school dropout in this kampung. Some of the third generations of local community are

dropout from second grade of elementary school. It is not because of financial problem which make they cannot afford to go to school, yet it is caused by lack of education willingness and awareness. These kids prefer to play on the roadside or go to an online game stall, yet their parents do nothing to prevent or forbid them. When they were interviewed, they said that they do not want to push the kids to go school because it is useless; the kids really do not like to go to school.

Some of these kids ask money from people who passed through the street, or they help to open the gate for gentrifier who ride car⁹. They use the money to buy a snack or go to online game stall. In a day, these kids can get money around Rp 20.000 rupiahs then they go to online- game stall all day long. Hereby, they enjoy having these activities rather than go to school. While the parents do nothing because they are glad their kids do not ask money to them.

b. Heterogeneity of Occupation

The presence of old and medium-term gentrifier give dissimilar affect to the local community in the form of types of occupation. Long-term gentrifier works as a government employee and civil servant, who has the same rhythm; work from 8 AM to 4 PM, receives regular salaries and allowance per month. Their average monthly income is less than five million rupiahs, so that they live in modest life; only a few families who own a car, has recreation once a year or not at all, send their children to public school which no tuition or any charges, and cook at home rather than go to a restaurant. Long-term gentrifier tends to has "an ordinary life" which almost similar with the local community, so that it does not shape the neighbourhood significantly. On the contrary, medium-term gentrifier has more modern and dynamic lifestyle; more varies type of work, the salary is more than ten million rupiahs per month,

⁹ In this kampong there were several gates that located in front of kampong entrance (in the middle of the street). This gate was intended to allow motorists to avoid speeding and anticipated strange (unknown) person. When somebody drive the car, he must down from his car and open the gate, after he passed the gate he must close the gate. The dropout kids helped these drivers to open the gate so they did not have to down (exit) from the car. Then they gave money to the kids (the money around 1- 5 thousand rupiah).

excluded allowance, they mostly have more than one car, go out every week just for window shopping at a mall or go to a restaurant. When medium-term gentrifier needs somebody to repair the roof tile, paint the house and the fence, need driver, or need laundry worker; they ask their local community neighbour to do that.

Zulkifli (G-MT-2), 45 years old, a *Batak* tribe, one of medium-term gentrifier who was interviewed, works as a lawyer. He explained that he prefers to ask his local community to help him than others; except to renovate the house, he prefers to ask a professional contractor than a local community builder. There are two reasons; first, he has already know his neighbours; their home, their family, telephone number, and their characteristics, so that he trusts more to employ them, he feels more secure when his daughters or his family go with somebody whom he knows already. He asks Boim to be his daughters' driver; drop off and pick up his daughters from school, tennis, dancing, and swimming courses. On the weekend, sometimes he also asks Boim to drive when he and his family have a recreation around Jakarta. Second reason, he wants to help his neighbours by giving them a job, so that they can earn money and feed their family. Zulkifli also often ask Pilun, 35 years old, Boim's nephew, to repair leaked water hose, to paint his daughters' bedroom and to replace a leaky roof. Pilun is a job seeker and he works when one of his neighbours asks his help. While to feed his three sons, his wife have a small stall in front of their house.

Wiwik, 45 years old, a Padang tribe, one of medium-term gentrifier who uses her second house in kampong Kramat Asem as a boarding house, she said that she prefers to ask her local community neighbours to work with her because it will decrease gap between her and them; avoid conflict, and as a newcomer she feels safer when she involves local community in her business. She asks Agus, a local community 30 years old, who takes care of her boarding house. She not only asks Agus to work with her, she also funds the school needs of Agus' two children. She gives some money to Agus' wife every beginning of the semester to buy new school uniform, shoes, bag and books. Sometimes, his wife is also asked to help in Wiwik's house; cleans up the house, cooks, or washes and irons clothes. Even though these

jobs are women side job; their main job is a housewife, they enjoy to work because they get money to fulfill the family need; their wage is 800.000-1 million rupiahs per month as a housemaid.

This situation makes a good relationship between medium-term gentrifier and local community; no conflict among them although they have a wider gap in social and economic status. Moreover, it is also open up new job opportunities, increase women worker number and surge local community income. Previously, second and third generation of the local community worked as construction and industry labors, then it changes into varies type of job; driver, security, boarding house caretaker, work in catering business, shopkeeper, communal parking guard, etc. While women involve in such new types of job such as salon, laundry and bridal make up workers, open small stall at home, cook for the neighbours or catering business.

This situation is differed with regard to the first generation of local community who less educated and less skilled, also getting old, job opportunities for them were less. Most of them rely on their children to feed and to fulfill their daily needs; pay electricity bills, etc. Whereas some of them choose to rent their part of the house to others to gain much more money.

Sopiyah (LC-S-2), 63 years old, the first generation of local community, lives in inherited house with her daughter, his son-in-law and her four grandchildren in a 50 m² house. She cannot rely on her daughter or her son-in-law because their income as a worker in bakery company is only enough to feed all the family. Therefore, she rents the third part of her house to a *Batak* newcomer for 5 years; with rents 3 million rupiahs per year. She asks the rents in the first year and she saves the money in a bank and takes a little bit when she needs it.

c. Shifting in Standard of Living

Another aspect of the neighbourhood that changes caused by gentrification is the rise of the standard of living. It can be seen from housing and infrastructure improvement, recreation orientation and community's health awareness. Housing

renovation and redevelopment done by gentrifier shaped the neighbourhood differently. While local community renovates their house in small scale such as repair the roof or took partition among room when they had a new family. Government support, political parties, and other assistance have also improved the physical aspect of the neighbourhood.

The increasing income of the community influences the shifting of recreation orientation. Whereas long-term gentrifier has once a year to go recreation, medium-term gentrifier has every week hang out. Long-term gentrifier goes out when one of their families have some events, such wedding ceremony, or other events.

While for recreation the local community prefers to go to *Ancol* beach (north Jakarta), or when there is event in *Monumen Nasional (Monas)*, or annual event such Jakarta Fairs which included as less spent money activity¹⁰. Medium-term gentrifier has varies options to recreation; go in town, out of town or go overseas. The local community also changes their recreation orientation. Before the presence of medium-term gentrifier, or when the first generation of local community exists, they did not familiar with recreation activities; they preferred to work and got money than spent it for recreation. When they had spare time, on the weekend or holiday they watched television with all of the family members, had chat with neighbours or visited their other families. Nowadays, they prefer to go to Jatinegara market, Ancol beach, Monumen Nasional or just window shopping at the local mall.

¹⁰ There are several local tourism sites in Jakarta where mostly local people visited, such as Ancol beach, Monumen Nasional (Monas) and Ragunan zoo (<http://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20150719095507-20-67137/ancol-masih-jadi-andalan-tempat-liburan-keluarga/>). There is no any charge to visit Monas, while Ancol beach and Ragunan zoo charged the visitors (not really expensive, the charge took 20 thousand rupiahs per person to enter Ancol beach, while to enter the zoo, visitor must pay 4 thousand rupiahs). <http://specindo.com/harga-tiket-masuk-kebun-binatang-ragunan-terbaru/> While middle-income class tends to go to tourism site outside Jakarta, most popular one is Puncak (resided in Bogor city). This site located in the mountains region so has cool weather (totally different with the hot weather in Jakarta). They rented a villa with all of the family, eat in restaurant with having mountain's view. Therefore, every weekend or holiday, Puncak became the center of congestion, because many Jakarta people came to have a holiday.

Community's health awareness has also increased; gentrifier has a health insurance such public health insurance, employee insurance from office, or uses a private insurance company. On the other hand, only a few numbers of local communities apply for public health insurance. The first generation of local community bought medicine from a stall in front of their house when they got sick or drugstore when the ill did not get better. Yet, the second generation starts to understand the importance of having a health insurance. They do not want to sell the house to pay hospital like their previous parents and must displace to other places. Therefore, some of them apply for public health insurance with premium 30.000 rupiahs per month for the third class. The government has also engaged all of community particularly low-income group to apply this public health insurance (bpjs-kesehatan.go.id, 2014). It is because many low-income groups feel difficult to pay hospital cost, as result the mortality rate is high; there some parents who are forced to leave their new baby born in the hospital because they cannot afford to pay the hospital. Moreover, the existence of *Kartu Jakarta Sehat* which totally support by DKI Jakarta Province government, no premium that must pay every month, the low-income class is really finds it helpful.

6.3 Summary of Findings

Gentrification led by individual renovator in kampong Kramat Asem shapes the neighbourhood in a different way. The existence of gentrifier in this kampong is accepted by the local community. There are several aspects which make the presence of gentrifier does not trigger any conflicts such as mutual interest among local community and gentrifier. It is called mutually supportive which is the local community and gentrifier get the benefit from living in the gentrifying neighbourhood (Smith, 1988). This mutual interest is based on economic and financial reason; whereas local community gets a new job, gentrifier gets employee; and local community is easier to sell the house. Mutual understanding is another aspect that supports this good neighbourhood; whereas the gentrifier realizes as a newcomer in the kampong they must adapt with the local community which different culture,

language, and lifestyle. On the other hand, the local community conceives the gentrifier as a busy person so that they cannot contribute in any community activities.

The relationship between local community and gentrifier influence the social and physical aspects. In social aspect, gentrifier presence gives different influence to the first, second, and third generation of the local community. Recently, the third generation adopts or even copies the medium-term gentrifier modern lifestyles that are considered better than their traditional culture; they are more consumptive (Buttler, 1997). Perspective transformation relates education, health awareness, and women worker are found in the second generation of local community who have intermarrying. Government intervention has also played a role to change the local community paradigm; support the education, community health, and women worker. While in the physical aspect, the role of gentrifier as individual renovator does not significantly change the neighbourhood quality. Physically, kampong appearance is shifting; from small and simple house into a modern and luxurious house, from a residential house into rented houses or tenements.

However, there are some aspects persisted, for instance young couple married and elementary school dropout in the third generation of local community. "Roadside activities" is commonly found, not only because they love to converse with the neighbours but also there is no public space provided. Their surround is crowded and highly housing density. This situation can be found in the block that is dominantly occupied by local community and long-term gentrifier, where long-term gentrifier does not give significant influence to the local community.

The gentrifier tries to understand the local community habits, although somehow they feel uncomfortable. On the other hand, the local community also tries to adapt with the changes of the neighbourhood. Both the local community and gentrifier attempt to the pressure of gentrification (Smith, 1988: 156).

Neighbourhood transformation in social and physical aspect in gentrifying kampong that led by individual renovator can be seen in figure below.

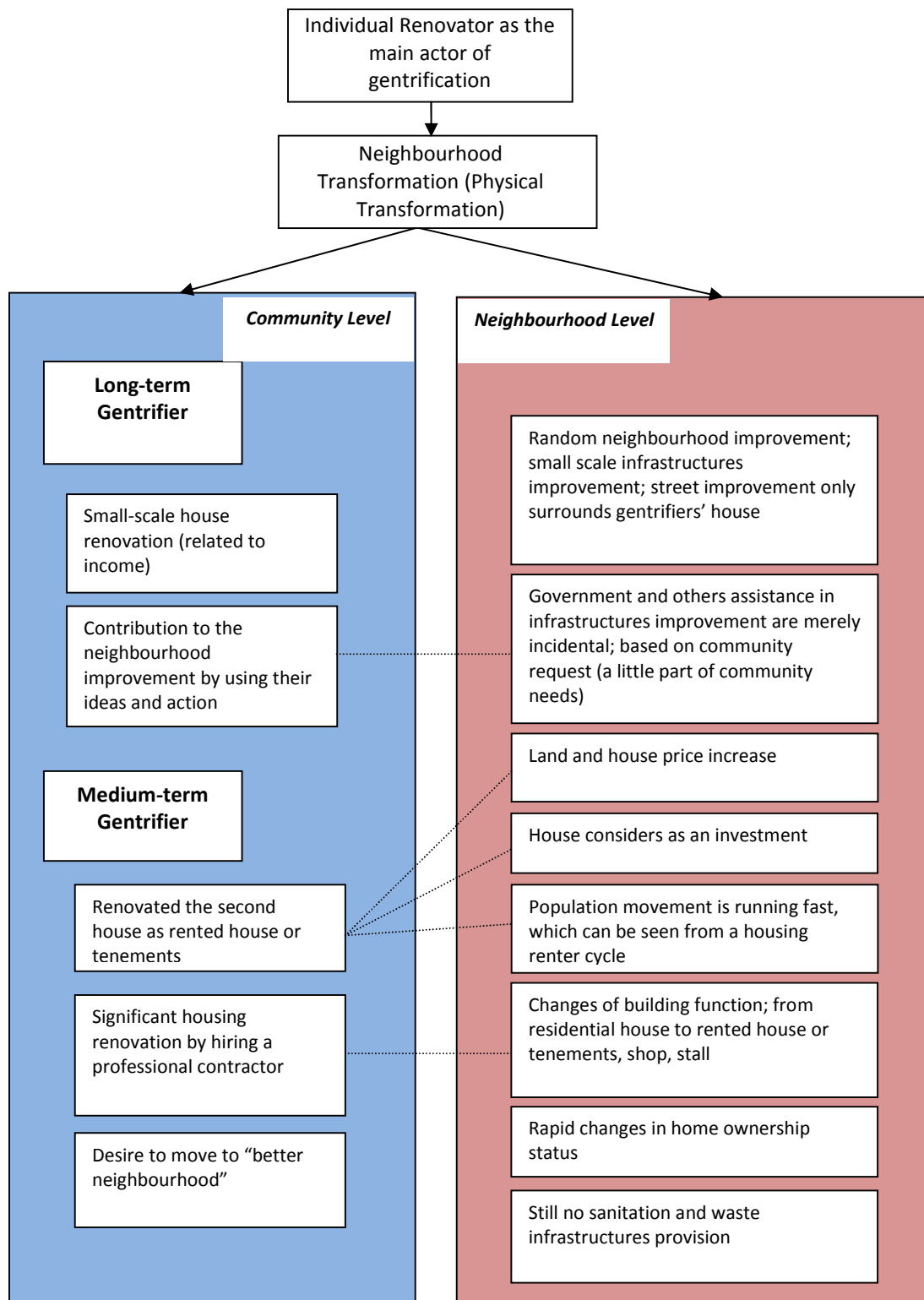


Figure 6.5. Physical Neighbourhood Transformations
Source: Author, 2016

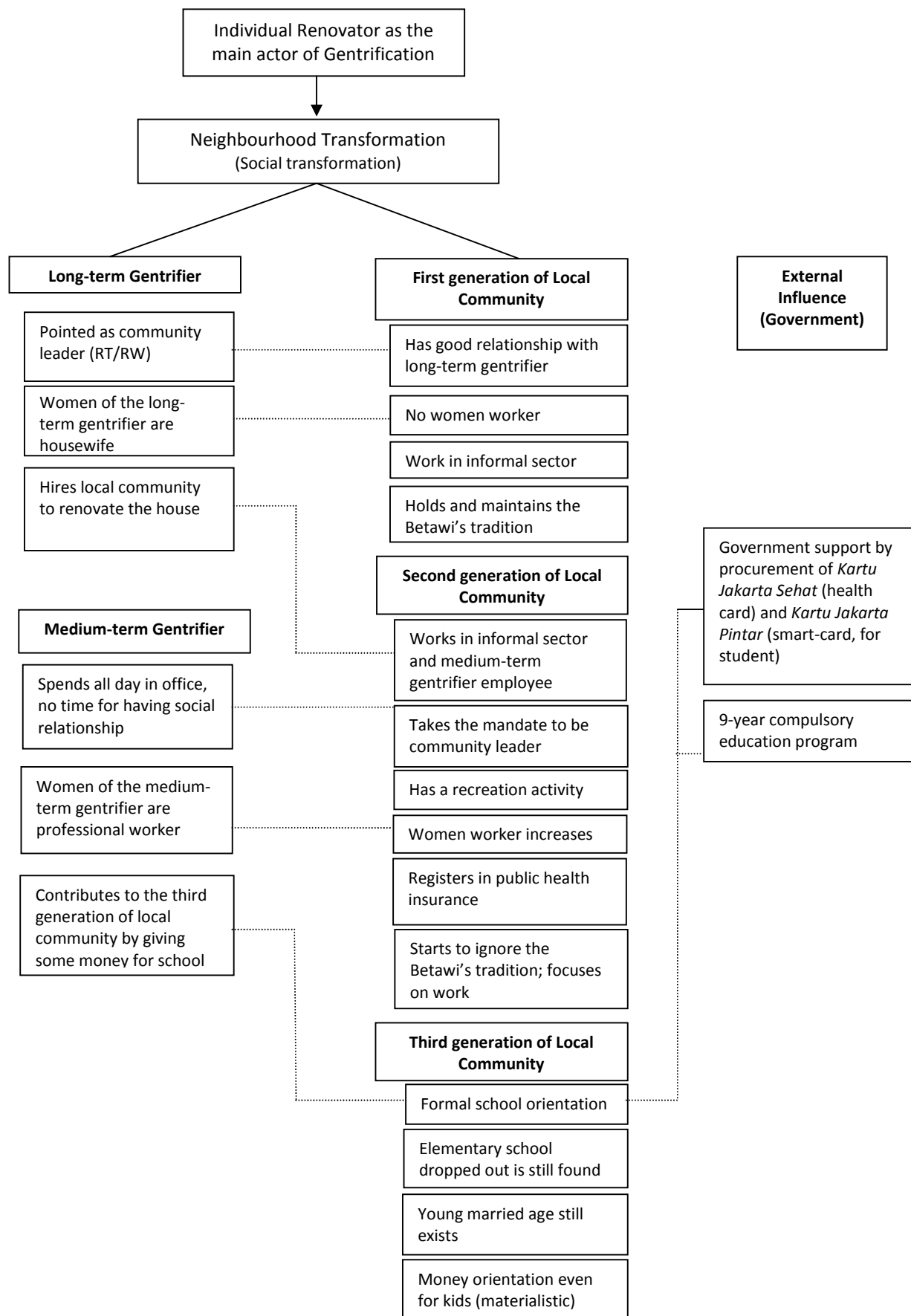


Figure 6.6. Social Neighbourhood Transformations

Source: Author, 2016

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

7.1 Lesson learned: understanding gentrification led by individual renovator in Indonesia

Gentrification led by individual renovator has both similarities and dissimilarities with gentrification that is led by the government. The similarities can be seen from the gentrification implications such as displacement of the local community and the neighborhood transformations. These transformations are shown by the improvement of housing and infrastructures, economic growth, changes of social characteristics such as increasing of education level, women worker, and job variations. In gentrification led by the government, the neighborhood improvement is conducted with an obvious spatial plan and clarity of funding source. This improvement addressed to overcome slum in the inner-city and increase environment quality. While in gentrification leads by individual renovator, the improvement is a partial improvement; no spatial plan and adjusted to gentrifier's affordability. The gentrifier renovated their house because it did not suit their preference so they demolished and changed it them into newly look (modern) residence.

The dissimilarities between gentrification led by the government and gentrification led by individual renovator are revealed by the causes (the background), and some externalities. Urban revitalization project is undertaken by the government because the inner-city area was degraded, so that need intervention to improve the area; then the demolition of previous building is conducted and the replacement of long residents also been managed. While gentrification led by individual renovator occurs because of the increasing of population number and followed by the rising of housing demand. The government of DKI Jakarta Province emphasized flat house construction to overcome high housing demand particularly for poor people, while landed house

provision submitted to free market mechanism. In this mechanism, only people who have money who can buy the landed house; they are middle-income and high income classes. After the economic crisis in 1998, Indonesia faced middle-income class bubble; this class was the only economic-class which can survive during the crisis. This class occupied new professional and creative job and lived in inner-city replaced local community. They prefer to stay in landed house than live in flat; they choose to buy local community's house which located in inner-city kampong because of accessibility reason.

Revitalization that was initiated by the government tend to less considering the local community as the previous resident in decaying area; consequently social conflict and segregation emerged. Massive population displacement as part of revitalization could not be avoided and it was no bargain for the long residents. They did not have options beside displaced because of they did not have legal land certificate. On contrary, in gentrification led by the individual renovator, local community displaced voluntarily; they sold the house to get money and moved to another kampong. Gentrifier bought the house with normal (ordinary) price, so the local community did not feel aggrieved. Otherwise, they felt assisted by gentrifiers who are willing to buy the house. This process made the local community and both long and middle-term gentrifier has a good relationship, no suspicion as newcomer in the community.

The long-term gentrifier was mandated as the community leader since they resided, they collaborated with the local community to improve the neighborhood. This situation changed after the presence of middle-term gentrifier; they busy with their job and the community leader shifted to the local community. However, the relation in the communities is still run smoothly. Both local community and gentrifier have flexibility so they can adapt to the situation; gentrifier can reside in kampong that lacks of infrastructure. In one side, the gentrifier realizes as newcomer, they should adapt with the culture and characteristic of long-time resident. On the other side, the local community accepts gentrifier as a part of the community who assisted them to improve the neighborhood. This community flexibility cannot be found in gentrification leads by the government. Some cases of gentrification led by the

government show that there are no conflict among the local community and gentrifier, even though there is still feeling of fear and discomfort, but the community prove that they can manage it wisely, so that conflict can be avoided. It can be seen from a high fence in gentrifier's house to minimize interaction with the local community and desire to move to planned residential whenever they are able to buy it.

Gentrification led by individual innovator in kampong Kramat Asem revealed second-wave of gentrification. It is indicated by no direct government role in neighborhood transformation; government program was outside the kampong (regional or province level) yet it influenced the kampong growth. It is dissimilar with second wave gentrification in the west before 1990 that caused by the economic recession so that the government could not support anything to improve the inner-city quality. However the lack of government support in kampong Kramat Asem was because it is an informal settlement where it did not include as the government priority in urban development policy. The government gave indirect influence by several programs in education and health, yet it did not address the kampong. Literally, gentrification in the west was entering the third wave of gentrification that seen from changed of government role in urban revitalization. By recovering from economic crisis enable the government to afford to support revitalization project financially. They had also involved the working-class (low-income class or local community) to participate in revitalization project; they had many community discussions to criticize the project.

Apparently, the transformation of governance system in Indonesia from centralized to decentralize could not address urban development distribution issue. DKI Jakarta Province is included as "rich region" which most of the income (DAK) comes from tax revenue so that in 2015 this province did not get any share of DAU from central government because it was considered afford to run the (self) development. Therefore, there was no reason for the government to give hand to the development. The government of DKI Jakarta Province emphasized the project on flat house in housing provision aspect, flood management by enhancing open space,

transportation, education, and health. The government is concerned on productive activities to gain more revenue, while culture conservation and informal settlement did not include as a priority in urban development. Therefore, gentrification in kampong Kramat Asem led by individual renovator will be continued. However, the characteristics of the third wave of gentrification still can be found, such as the increasing of the land price, the changing of physical appearance and the government role.

Gentrification process in kampong

Gentrification in kampong Kramat Asem is initiated by the community. It can be seen from the influx capital process which the most dominant actor who triggered the gentrification and caused transformation of the neighborhood is individual renovator. On the opposite, government, private sector, and others had a minor role. Government project such as highway development and public transport provision (Trans Jakarta) addressed to improve accessibility and reduced congestion; it gave great influence to the kampong which is located directly across the highway. Jakarta is well known for its congestion; anytime and anywhere, on weekdays or holidays there are always congestions. Therefore, good accessibility from both kampong to inner-city and vice versa makes housing demand in this location increased. While private sector and political parties contributed in infrastructure provision incidentally.

Government policy related to urban development emphasized on some important locations such as inner-city, new growth area and slum area. While kampong as a part of inner-city tend to be neglected; the government had only paid attention to certain kampong such as historical kampong and heritage kampong that have a spatial plan. Therefore, the development of kampong occurs and scatters slowly. Recently, many kampongs are evicted in DKI Jakarta province; the community displaced to some boarding house that usually quite far from their previous kampong and consequently they lost their previous job, moreover the houses were demolished. Most of these kampongs resided in an illegal location, for instance, eviction of Kampong Pulo where situated in the Ciliwung riverbank, Kampung Kalijodo as prostitution area in Jakarta

and Kampung Luar Batang in north Jakarta. Most of the resident displaced to a boarding house, while some of them went back to their hometown. Demolition of this kampong addressed to obtain public facilities (open space, park, and marine tourism) and flood management (Ciliwung River).

Likewise, the private developer did not interest to invest in this kampong. When private developer offered to buy local community house, they will ask high compensation money which is higher than the market price. They know that private developer will demolish the house and develop luxurious apartment and get much more money. Besides, most of the local community does not have the land certificate as legal proof ownership that can lead a problem in the future, like land ownership conflict and land disputes. They had also minimized interaction with local people (Betawi people) to avoid community conflict.

Therefore, the role of gentrifier as an individual renovator is important in the neighborhood improvement; because of no government support and no private developer investment. House that previously uninhabitable changed into a modern and stylish house; street pavement and sanitation improvement. Yet, this neighborhood improvement slowly occurred; depend on gentrification affordability. As a professional worker who has a monthly salary, gentrifier can apply some loan (mortgage) from the bank to renovate the house. Yet, one of the requirements to access the bank loan, it needed house certificate. Previously, the local community who sold the house did not have the land certificate, only reference letter from the community leader. After the house bought by gentrifier, the land legalization was still the same whereas most of gentrifier did not register the house to State Land Agency. It needed many documents to get this land certificate, long process and quite expensive (more than 10 million rupiahs for a 150 m² house).

High level of population mobilization had also influenced the neighborhood improvement. This population mobilization is caused by many tenements constructed in the kampong and increased the number of newcomer. Many medium-term gentrifier bought the second house or third house and renovate it into some rented

houses and tenements. They know that tenements demand was high especially for tenements that situated in the inner city with high accessibility. The development of these boarding house and tenements had also changed the appearance of the kampong. Moreover, the newcomers who stay in the boarding house or tenements contribute to the neighbourhood improvement; they give money as their monthly contribution.

Transformation of building function from a residence into a boarding house or tenements led displacement process continued. Whenever local community needs much money, they did not have any options but sold the house. Accessing loan from the bank is quite difficult for them because one of the requirements to get the loan is somebody should have a regular income. While as informal sector worker they do not have regular income and salary slip. Therefore, selling the house is the one and only option for them to get money. Besides, the presence of gentrifier, particularly medium-term gentrifier made selling the house easily; the medium-term gentrifier definitely agrees to buy the house. The price that offered by gentrifier is quite high so they did not feel disadvantaged. Gentrifier considered that bought second or third house as investment was really beneficial for them. Even though the price offered by gentrifier is quite high, but it is cheaper compare with the other inner cities.

Having good relationship among communities in the kampong does not mean that between old and medium-term gentrifier have the similar perspective to local community. They have different type of adaptation; whereas long-term gentrifier tries to elaborate with the local community by attending all of the community meetings and contributing in cultural (Betawi) activities (social preservationist), medium-term gentrifier tends to pull out from the community. Good accessibility and investment were the most important reason made medium-term gentrifier stays in the kampong. Basically, they felt uncomfortable with the local community's characteristics so that they chose to minimize the interaction. They tried to feel homey, but somehow they still felt worried (as homesteader gentrifier). Therefore it can be concluded that old and middle-term gentrifier have dissimilar flexibility in the

community, but they have similarity in having the willingness to accept gentrification's inconvenience.

7.2 Revisiting gentrification: a reflection on urban regeneration

At the beginning, gentrification was seen as a negative process that reflected as social class segregation such class changed in London (Glass, 1964). Yet, this perspective changed into more neutral as urban revitalization. In urban regeneration context, gentrification is a part of some area improvements, not only physically but also social and economically. Like what Jon Ladd, chief executive, BURA (British Urban Regeneration Association) said, "Urban regeneration is a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area."

Neighborhood quality improvement, increasing of education level, job variations, and economic growth are the consequences of gentrification that are considered as a positive implication. Yet, who is get these positive implications? At the first, local community who sold the land, they got money, and then they must find a new job in a new place. It was really hard to find a job because they were unskilled and uneducated, so that they wanted to go back to the previous kampong and to the previous job. However, it was impossible for them to stay in previous kampong because the house price was surged significantly. As a consequence, they keep reside in the new place but they must back and forth to previous kampong because they need a job from the gentrifier.

Both gentrifier and local community who stay in the kampong also take the benefit from gentrification. Gentrifier takes good accessibility as one of the advantages resides in the kampong (location benefit). The others are gentrifier get an employee who trusted and low paid; they also have opportunity to occupy another house as an investment because of the local community prefer to offer the house to the gentrifier than others. They get advantages from displacement process that followed by

gentrification. A local community who stay takes the benefit from increasing of land price and better neighborhood quality.

Government do nothing related to gentrification in the kampong because it showed positive implications. They also do not control the land price that increased significantly in the free market mechanism. They also do not have to conduct any project, the neighborhood quality (self) better.

All of the advantages had by local community and gentrifier, generate one question, "Does gentrification led by individual renovator included as "positive gentrification"? " At this moment government can do nothing related to kampong development because it runs well so far. Yet, there is right to reside of local community who ignored; some traditional culture (Betawi) start to extinct, uncontrolled land price, quick population mobilization, scattered kampong revitalization are some invisible problems along gentrification process and kampong Betawi will be changed into kampong tenements. Gentrifier ignores to get a building permit from Spatial Planning Department when they developed of many tenements and boarding houses. They still paid the tax for residence land and building not as a rent house. Moreover, these developments led increasing of population mobilization and population density.

Government role is needed in the kampong development and revitalization to control the land use and population aspects. The government can adopt state-society concept in urban development projects as in China. Participating community, not only gentrifier but also local community, in urban development activities, doing activities together can avoid some social problems such as social segregation.

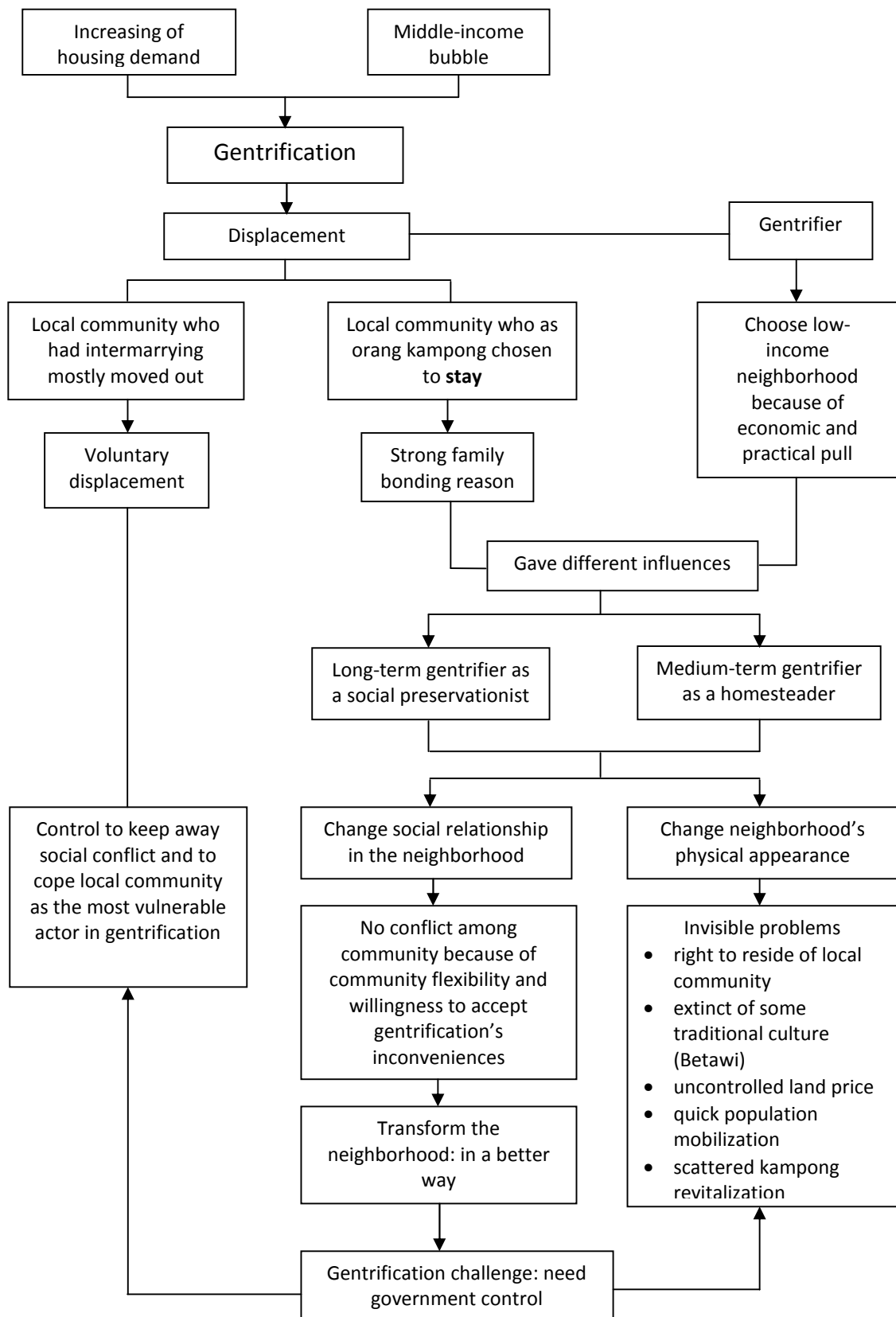


Figure 7.1. Gentrification Proses led by Individual Renovator

In urban regeneration context, improvement of the neighborhood must respect the past, including the heritage culture, and adaptive with all of the changes in the future (Fadigas, 2004). Physical renovation of the kampong should not destroy the identity of Betawi community. Similarly, social and technology advance should enrich the culture. A modern lifestyle that is considered as “better” way of life can be found in the gentrifying community as “new” lifestyle. These communities adopt urbanism as the way of life. The neighborhood transformation fails to connect the first, second and third generation of the communities in preserving the culture, strong kinship and reinforce their identity. However, communities’ flexibility can be considered as opportunity and strength to create a better neighborhood in the future. This aspect should be maintained to the next generation to face the future challenges and conflict which may arise.

Previously, Kampong Kramat Asem is a neglected area in the inner city because it does not have any sanitation, waste and water supply network. This kampong also categorized as slum area because of no government support in infrastructures provision, community who lived in an improper house where one person occupied only 4-6 m² of space. Yet, 20 years after the presence of gentrifier, this situation has changed. Improvement of infrastructures and physical appearance, increasing of quality of life and standard of living are some transformation that found. However, this “better” situation is fragile. A local community who stays in this kampong is very susceptible. They do not have any land certificate so can be evicted whenever the government runs the development. The local community has a low bargain position in the community so that the possibility of displacement is still persist. Moreover their dependency to the gentrifier in economic aspect has also considered as a threat. These two matters must be maintained to avoid the emerging of social and economic conflict in the future.

7.3. Some ideas for further study

Gentrification led by individual renovator will continue in the future and change the neighborhood. But, there are several questions emerge, “Where are the government

and private developer roles in this type of gentrification?”, “Does this gentrification will be entering the next step of third wave gentrification?”. The changing of the political situation in DKI Jakarta Province really influences the gentrification process (indirectly). Development of some new highways and monorail, provision of many public open spaces, supports in health care and education have also influence the community and then affects the relationship between the local community and gentrifier.

Shifting in community relationship and displacement that continues (quick population mobilization) will affect the characteristics of next generation (third generation) of the local community. Position as low-income people in the community makes local community vulnerable to change. Lees and Slater (2007) said that “rich people move in, poor move out and rents go up”. Therefore, in the gentrification led by individual renovator, no government support and control, who will take the benefit in the future? Does it still conclude as “positive gentrification”?

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Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol for the Local Community

Background

Dear Sir/Madam,

First of all, I would like to introduce myself before we start the interview. My name is Santy Paulla Dewi, a lecturer at Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Diponegoro University. At moment, I am pursuing my PhD at Department Urban Planning, Technische Universität Darmstadt (Germany). This interview related with my PhD research which titled Gentrification Process as Urban Development Consequence. I want to find out the gentrification process especially in this district where I think very representative to be my case study. Gentrification is a natural process in urban development activity which gives not only positives influence but also negative influence both to the community and to the neighbourhood. Therefore, it is necessary for government to recognize the changes in the community and the neighbourhood in order to regulate the proper development policies and programs.

Hence, I hope that you are willing to give all information in this interview. Thank you very much for your attention.

Sincerely yours,

Santy Paulla Dewi

Instruction

1. Interview is started by agreement both from the informant and the interviewer
2. Interview takes around 60 minutes for each informant
3. Interviewer should briefly explain about the interview purpose and the information which pursued
4. The informant can read the interview question if needed before started (optional)
5. Taking note the informant identity to confirm and to make sure he/she is the right person to answer
6. Asking permit form the informant to have some voice record and some photographs
7. Recording all of the informant answers by voice recorder, note and take some pictures
8. In the end of interview session, make some conclusion as verification to the informant
9. Giving a kindly greeting and ask to the informant availability for the further interview if needed.

Informant Details

Name :
Sex :
Address :
Length of stay :
Occupation :
Office address :
Income :

Education :
Telephone :
Email :

Questions

Local Community who moved out

1. When did you move from Kampong Kramat Asem? Why did you sell your house? How much did you sell (Rp/m²)?
2. Why do you choose the new place for living? How much the land price?
3. Does is this your own house? House status? Housing wide?
4. From whom do you get information about this new place?
5. Do you still doing your previous culture in your new place? Do you always participate in every culture activities in your place? As what?
6. What improvement did you already done to your house?
7. What kind of government support for community to improve their house and environment?
8. Where do you go for shopping to fulfil your daily needs? For your secondary needs? How many times do you go for shopping both daily needs and secondary needs?
9. Where do you go if you or one of your family sick? Do you have any insurance?
10. Where is your kids' school location? Why do you choose that school?
11. If your kids have already worked, where is her/his office location?

Local Community who stayed

1. Does is this your own house? House status? Housing wide?
2. What improvement did you already done to your house? Do you use your own money/ lend from somebody or bank/get from your parents/government support to renovate your house?
3. What kind of government support for community to improve their house and environment?
4. Where do you go for shopping to fulfil your daily needs? For your secondary needs? How many times do you go for shopping both daily needs and secondary needs?
5. Where do you go if you or one of your family sick? Do you have any insurance?
6. Where is your kids' school location? Why do you choose that school?
7. If your kids have already worked, where is her/his office location?
8. Do you always participate in every culture activities in your place? As what? Does your neighbour also participate in every activity?
9. How is your relation with your neighbour?

Interview Protocol for Gentrifier

Background

Dear Sir/Madam,

First of all, I would like to introduce myself before we start the interview. My name is Santy Paulla Dewi, a lecturer at Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Diponegoro University. At moment, I am pursuing my PhD at Department Urban Planning, Technische Universität Darmstadt (Germany). This interview related with my PhD research which titled Gentrification Process as Urban Development Consequence. I want to find out the gentrification process especially in this district where I think very representative to be my case study. Gentrification is a natural process in urban development activity which gives not only positives influence but also negative influence both to the community and to the neighbourhood. Therefore, it is necessary for government to recognize the changes in the community and the neighbourhood in order to regulate the proper development policies and programs.

Hence, I hope that you are willing to give all information in this interview. Thank you very much for your attention.

Sincerely yours,

Santy Paulla Dewi

Instruction

1. Interview is started by agreement both from the informant and the interviewer
2. Interview takes around 60 minutes for each informant
3. Interviewer should briefly explain about the interview purpose and the information which pursued
4. The informant can read the interview question if needed before started (optional)
5. Taking note the informant identity to confirm and to make sure he/she is the right person to answer
6. Asking permit form the informant to have some voice record and some photographs
7. Recording all of the informant answers by voice recorder, note and take some pictures
8. In the end of interview session, make some conclusion as verification to the informant
9. Giving a kindly greeting and ask to the informant availability for the further interview if needed.

Informant Details

Name :
Sex :
Address :
Length of stay :
Occupation :
Office address :
Income :
Education :
Telephone :
Email :

Questions

1. Does is this your own house? House status? Housing wide?
2. What improvement did you already done to your house?
3. What kind of government support for community to improve their house and environment?
4. Why do you choose to live in this neighbourhood? When did you move here?
5. Where was your previous house (the location)?
6. Had you ever stay in others places before you stay here? Where? Rent/your own house?
7. How did you know about this house? How did you get information about this place? Housing price (Rp/m²)?
8. How many numbers of people who live in your house?
9. Where do you go for shopping to fulfil your daily needs? For your secondary needs? How many times do you go for shopping both daily needs and secondary needs?
10. Where do you go if you or one of your family sick? Do you have any insurance?
11. Where is your kids' school location? Why do you choose that school?
12. Do you know what kind of cultural activities in this place? Have you been participated in those activities?

Interview Protocol for Government Agent

Background

Dear Sir/Madam,

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8. In the end of interview session, make some conclusion as verification to the informant
9. Giving a kindly greeting and ask to the informant availability for the further interview if needed.

Informant Details

Name :
Sex :
Occupation :
Length of Work :
Office address :
Telephone :
Email :

Questions

1. What kind of government development policies or programs have already done in the neighbourhood? Please explain!
2. What is government's development plans related with the neighbourhood?
3. How are private developers role in the neighbourhood development?
4. What kind of neighbourhood improvement activities that have been done?
5. Please explain about community participation in the neighbourhood development, such as improvement of infrastructures and facilities!
6. Is there any support from the government to community related with the housing improvement?
7. Do the government's urban development program and policies influence the community and neighbourhood? Please explain!
8. How do you think about community relationship among Betawi community and newcomers in this district?
9. Do you think that newcomers' existence will give influence to the Betawi society? Positive or negative influence?
10. Is there any government effort in order to handle the negative influence?
11. Can you explain some Local cultures that still exist until now!

Interview Protocol for Private Developers

Background

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Santy Paulla Dewi

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9. Giving a kindly greeting and ask to the informant availability for the further interview if needed.

Informant Details

Name :
Sex :
Occupation :
Length of Work :
Office address :
Telephone :
Email :

Questions

1. What kind investment that your company had already done? Next investment (plan)?
2. Why do you choose invest in this location?
3. Is there any support from the community and government in your investment?
4. Is there any problems related with the implementation of your projects?

Transcript of the Interviews

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT OF BETAWI COMMUNITY (The local community who stayed)		Code: LC-S-1
Date	6 December 2014, 7 December 2014	
Time/Duration	16.05-17.36 PM (1 hour 31 minutes) 09.00-10.44 AM (1 hour 44 minutes)	
Name Interviewee	Sopiah (my mother-in-law)	
Sex	Female	
Age	58 years old	
Occupation	Home-industry business	
Address	Jl. Asem Gede 2 RT 4 RW 5 No.4 Utan Kayu Selatan	

- Does is this your own house? House status? Housing wide?
Previously, this is my parents' house. My parents were a famous landlord in this kampung. They occupied a broad land; from Asem Gede 2 street all the way up to the mosque in Asem Gede 1 street. Then, my parents divided the property to their 8 children (including me). Each of us got a house or a parcel of land (80 m² in average for each child). Then one by one of us got married and chosen to live in a broader house or closed to their/their husband workplace. 5 of 7 brothers are married to a person from other tribes (not Betawi people), including me which my husband is coming from Jogjakarta (Java).
Now, I am just living in this kampung. While my 7 brothers and sisters who had intermarrying sold the house to the newcomer and moved in the Jakarta peripheral regions, such as in Tangerang, Bekasi, and Depok. Before passed away, my father asked me to stay in this house as inherited house.
- What improvement did you already done to your house? Do you use your own money/ lend from somebody or bank/get from your parents/government support to renovate your house?
I had already renovated this house significantly; I changed the style and building material. My previous house was an old fashion house, many cracked and leaking in the wall. I was lent money from the bank to renovate the house by using collateral of land titles. Yet, the money was not enough to finish the renovation. Because my husband and I work as a home-industry businessman (run our home industry business in food- catering) who does not have a fixed salary per month, so the bank cannot give a loan maximally. Then, to finish the house renovation I lent money from my brother and individual moneylenders.
- What kind of government support for the community to improve their house and environment?
Support from the government or other actors has only in certain moments, such as when the presidential election in 2009. One of the political parties came to this kampung, he said that his party will give support to the kampung in the form of street and drainage improvement, a mosque and kindergarten development.
- Where do you go for shopping to fulfill your daily needs? For your secondary needs? How many times do you go for shopping both daily needs and secondary needs?

I go to the traditional market every day to fulfill my food/catering business needs. I go to the market by public transport and went back home by using motorcycle taxis driver. I went to the supermarket or mall or a grocery centre very rarely.

5. Where do you go if you or one of your family sick? Do you have any insurance?

I did not have any health insurance. When my family got sick, I just give them a generic medicine that I bought from the drugstore. I wait for several days to see the progress. If there was not any significant progress, I took them to meet the doctor. I used my own money.

Yet, in 2012 I got the Jakarta Health Card, so I utilized this card to see the doctor periodically in the hospital. In 2009, I had accervical cancer and must be surgery. No choice for me beside took the surgery. All of the hospitals expenses I paid for itself. After this surgery, I need to check to the doctor periodically. I started to feel unable to bear the doctor cost. Therefore, I registered to get the Jakarta Health Card. Now, I have also registered in the public health insurance. My young son has paid my insurance premium every month.

6. Where is your kids' school location? Why do you choose that school?

I was graduated from a public vocational school, while my husband graduated from the junior high school. Yet, I do not want my kids to have the same condition with us. My mother was ill; she had a cervical cancer, so she asked me and my sisters to give priority to take care the family. She said that the most important thing for a woman is handling the family in a good way. She asked us to take cares the house; cleaned the house, washed the clothes, cooked, took care the young brothers and sisters, and shopped to the traditional market. Education was not an important thing for us as a woman. She said that useless for a woman to take the education because the most appropriate place for a woman was at home, not worked at the office. She forbidden me went to school before I finished all of the housework. Therefore, I woke up early in the morning, and then I went to the traditional market for shopping our family needs. While my young sisters cooked, washed the clothes, and cleaned the house. I had often gone to school very late. Moreover, my mother had not always given me some money to pay the bus. I went to school by bus every morning. Fortunately, I had a teacher who really kind to me. We had often on the same bus; she already known my condition, she often paid for my bus ticket. She had also given me permit when I was late. I had also often late to pay the school tuition fee, because my parents did not prioritize it. Although my parent is a landlord who occupied a wide land in our kampong, they did not take any attention for our school tuition fee, our uniforms, and our books; they preferred to buy some jewellery.

My fourth siblings and I had graduated from senior high school, while my three oldest brothers graduated from the elementary school only.

I did not want my kids experiencing the same condition. Therefore, I sent my two sons school until the university level. I want they can improve our family economic condition. I want my sons to work in the formal sector, as a civil servant, or as a manager, etc.

7. If your kids have already worked, where is her/his office location?

My old son works as a medical representative in one of medicine companies, whereas my young son works at one of the biggest banks in Indonesia. My old son stays in Jakarta with his wife and his daughter. While my young son lives in Semarang since he pursued the university level. He married a Javanese girl and stay in Semarang (Java).

8. Do you always participate in every culture activities in your place? As what? Does your neighbour also participate in every activity?

My husband has elected as a community committee and also a mosque committee for almost 15 years. On the other hand, I was very rarely to join in any community activities because I busy with my job. Yet, as a Betawi people, I wanted to preserve our culture. For instance, when my daughter-in-law had fourth months pregnant, I held a *pengajian* and I asked *rebana* group to perform. When my second son had married, I also had given a couple of crocodile bread for my daughter-in-law family. This crocodile bread is one of Betawi cultures in the wedding tradition.

9. How is your relation with your neighbour?

My relation with my neighbours is very close. My neighbours who lived in front of my house were Betawi people; they lived in the extended family. I often had a chat with them or asked their help when I got a lot of food order. I knew them since I was a kid so that I grew with them.

Yet, in the 2010, they sold the house and moved to Parung. Boim, as a head of the family was divided the money for all of his siblings. Previously, Boim worked as a driver for our neighbour, Zulkifli; he was a newcomer. Boim took the Zulkifli's daughters to school in the morning and to some courses in the afternoon. After he sold the house, he was also resigned from his work as a driver. He hoped he could get another job in his new place used his skills as a flute player and a drummer. Yet, it did not become a reality. Then he went back to our kampung.

Another Betawi neighbour who also sold the house was Mrs Yani. One of her siblings wanted to occupy the whole house for himself; it was triggered a conflict in this family. Then, they decided to sell the house and divided the money to all of the siblings. Previously, Mrs Yani helped me in my catering business. After her family sold the house, she moved to another kampung in Parung. 3 years later, she came to my house. It was surprisingly, she asked to work with me again; she said that difficult to find a job in her new place because she did not have any skills. She could not compete with the younger worker; the employer preferred to have a younger worker than the old one because they stronger and more agile.

On the other hand, my relationship with the newcomer around my house has also nice. We always greet each other when meeting. Sometimes they had also ordered my cooking; when they had a Moslem recitation, they asked me to cook the food. They have also loved a Betawi food and asked me to cook it.

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT OF BETAWI COMMUNITY (The local community who stayed)		Code: LC-S-2
Date	7 December 2014	
Time/Duration	15.15-16.20 PM (1 hour 5 minutes)	
Name Interviewee	Sopiyah	
Sex	Female	
Age	65 years old	
Occupation	Housemaid	
Address	Jl. Asem Gede 1 RT 5 RW 5 No. 24 Utan Kayu Selatan	

1. Does is this your own house? House status? Housing wide?

I live in this house since I was born with my parents and all of my siblings. My parents reside in this kampong since 1930. After they passed away, I and my two siblings who still alive have occupied this house. Actually, our parents had already distributed their asset (including this house) to all of their children. Yet, my siblings and I have not divided this house into three parts. This house wide is 50 m². If we want to sell the house and distributed equally the money to us, it is not possible to buy the new house. The money won't enough to pay the housing price. Likewise, we do not have any legal certificate to this land. Therefore, we decide to live in this house together with my children and their family. I occupy this house with the sixth person such as my son and his wife, also his three kids.

I will stay in this house in this kampong; I do not want to sell the house. I will move to another place if the government has an eviction program.

2. What improvement did you already done to your house? Do you use your own money/ lend from somebody or bank/get from your parents/government support to renovate your house?

I do not have any significant housing renovation since the first time we live in this kampong. My oldest son was made a simple partition among our bed. There are three beds; my beds, my daughter and family bed, and my son and his family bed.

In 2012, our living room was renovated and changed into a small room. Then it was rented. A man from Padang rents this room (size 2x2 m) for five years with the rent money 2 million rupiahs per year.

3. What kind of government support for the community to improve their house and environment?

There is no any government support to improve my house. My children and I cannot access any government assist because of we do not have the legal certificate of this land. While the legal land certificate is the most important requirements to get the government assistance, except we have a regular income per month. I utilize artesian wells because the water quality is good, while waste infrastructure I used a private institution service to haul the trash. I have to pay 5.000 per month for this service.

4. Where do you go for shopping to fulfill your daily needs? For your secondary needs? How many times do you go for shopping both daily needs and secondary needs?

I am a jobless, so to fulfill the daily needs I really dependent to my boy. I save the money that I got from the rented room at the bank. I take the money from the bank if my son

cannot give me some money. He works as an industrial labor so he has a few wages. When our rice runs out and my son has not payday, I take the money from the bank to buy the rice and other daily needs. I often go shopping at the traditional market that located in this sub-district. Not only the price that negotiable but also the traditional market location is relatively close; it just takes 10 minutes to reach the market by public transportation. Once a year I go to some tourism sites surround Jakarta with all of my family such as *Anco/* beach, *Monas*, *PRJ*, etc.

5. Where do you go if you or one of your family sick? Do you have any insurance?
Previously, I did not have any health insurance so when I sick I just bought a medicine from the stall near my house. When the drug did not run well, I went to the public health centre. But, in 2011 the government of DKI Jakarta launched a health card for poor family and I included in a list as a person who got the card. After I have this card, I used to go to public health center when I sick or go to the public hospital (*Persahabatan* Hospital) when I feel that my disease gets seriously.
6. Where is your kids' school location? Why do you choose that school?
I have three kids and all of them have already married and have children (my grandchildren). All of my grandchildren are going to school; my first grandchild is in the government junior high school that located in our district. My second grandchild is going to school in the kindergarten that resides in our kampong (at the kampong meeting hall). So we do not have to pay any tuition fee for both of my grandchildren.
7. If your kids have already worked, where is her/his office location?
All of my children have already worked in Jakarta. My first son works as an industrial labor; he works in some government development projects. My second daughter is a housewife; she takes cares the kids while her husband works.
8. Do you always participate in every culture activities in your place? As what? Does your neighbour also participate in every activity?
Recently, cultural activities in my kampong are very limited. It was really different situation compared to year 1970s; I often saw *ondel-ondel* when one of my neighbours had a celebration, I had also always come to watch *lenong* at the community hall at least once a year. Nowadays, all of the people are very busy with their job. Their priority is working and gets money as much as possible.
In daily activities, I have more chat with the oldster and retired person than with others. The regular activity in this kampong is *majelis taklim* (the Moslem recitation) which held once a month. This activity is held in the weekend. Most of the participants are the oldster of Betawi people, while newcomer is rarely or even never came to this event.
9. How is your relation with your neighbour?
We have a close relationship. Moreover, most of my neighbours are my family; we have a filiation from our grandfather and grandmother. Most of my neighbours are Betawi people so we have a strong kinship. I also have a good relationship with other neighbours who are a newcomer. We have an activity together in some religion activities once a month.

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT OF BETAWI COMMUNITY (The local community who stayed-intermarrying)		Code: LC-S-3
Date	9 December 2014	
Time/Duration	16.30-17.28 PM (58 minutes)	
Name Interviewee	Abdul Salam	
Sex	Male	
Age	47 years old	
Occupation	Businessman	
Address	Jl. Asem Gede 1 RT 5 RW 5 No.11	

- Does is this your own house? House status? Housing wide?

Previously, this house was my parents-in-law house. But now, this house is inheritable to my wife after we married. I originally come from Demak, and resided to this kampong since 1984 and worked as a furniture business worker. The owner of this business is my family who also originally from Demak. The owner rented one of the houses in this kampong as the workshop place. In 1994, I married with one of Betawi girls which her house was closed to my workshop.

At the first time reside in this house, my wife and I lived with her fifth siblings. Before passed away, my parents-in-law asked to all of their children to stay in the kampong and live together with all of the family. Yet, my parents-in-law had already divided the land to all of the children to avoid some conflict among families in the future.

Yet, after all of the children married and have kids, they wanted to have their own house.

Then, they started to sell the parcel of land. My wife and I did not want our inherited land occupied by someone else. So, we bought the land from our family. I want to keep my parents-in-law mandate to stay in the kampong and maintain the house.

My sisters-in-law moved to Depok that adjusted with their affordability. Actually, they want to buy another house in the kampong, but they cannot afford to buy it.
- What improvement did you already done to your house? Do you use your own money/ lend from somebody or bank/get from your parents/government support to renovate your house?

I had a small-scale housing renovation; I changed a small room in the front of the house as my workshop. Now, I have my own furniture business (home industry). So I use this house as a workshop place. I prefer to use my own money to do this renovation than owe to the bank; so many administrative requirements and many documents needed to get the loan. I still afford to fund the renovation by my income. My income per month is more than 10 million rupiahs in average.

If one of my neighbours wants to sell their house, I want to buy it to expand my furniture business.
- What kind of government support for the community to improve their house and environment?

As far as I know, there were few supports from the government. They gave the assistance in the certain moment such as in 2012 when governor election moment. One of the political parties gave support to improve the kampong street. On the other hand, there were not any supports from the private institutions. To meet clean water needs, I use artesian wells. The water quality from this wells is very good and I do not need to

pay some money to get the clean water. While for the waste, I asked the waste private institution to take the garbage. The premium for this service is voluntary, so each family pays a different amount.

4. Where do you go for shopping to fulfill your daily needs? For your secondary needs? How many times do you go for shopping both daily needs and secondary needs?
My wife has shopping for the daily needs at the traditional market. But, if she has a hectic day, she has shopped at the transient vegetable vendors (the greengrocers). Shopping at the traditional market has a lower price than other places.
For clothing and others good, I prefer to buy at the grocery centre than buy it at the supermarket or mall. I had also gone to the grocery centre to buy hand phones for my daughters; they asked me to buy it for them. Yet, this activity is very rare; not always once a month.
5. Where do you go if you or one of your family sick? Do you have any insurance?
If one of my families sick, we go to meet the doctor. We pay the doctor by ourselves. We do not have any health insurance. Yet, I have a plan to register for public health insurance (BPJS). My family did not get Jakarta Health Card from the DKI Jakarta province government because we considered as a middle-income family.
6. Where is your kids' school location? Why do you choose that school?
I have two kids and both are sent to *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school). I choose to send my children to *pesantren* because I had also graduated from *Pesantren Lirboyo* (one of the *pesantrens* which famous in the East Java). I send my children to *pesantren* since they graduated from elementary school. Besides, I also want my children to have a good religion foundation as a basis foundation. I feel that it is not conducive to bear my children in this kampung. Many people speak rudely in this neighbourhood. They will reside with me after they graduated from senior high school. I will give them options to take the university in Jakarta. I think that they have already a mature thought, so they will not influence by the negative association in their surround.
7. If your kids have already worked, where is her/his office location?
Like I said before that my kids are still in school age.
Yet, I want to tell you about my brother-in-law who works in the inner-city and now live in Depok. The distance from his house the workplace is far (his house is out of town). So he takes a regional train to reach the office, and it takes 1,5 hours.
8. Do you always participate in every culture activities in your place? As what? Does your neighbour also participate in every activity?
I spend most of my time to work. So I am rare to join in any cultural activities. On the other hand, my wife often participates in some cultural events in this kampung, such as in wedding ceremony, *sunatan*, etc. She voluntary helps the neighbours.
9. How is your relation with your neighbour?
Most of my neighbours are Betawi people. I have already familiar with all of Betawi people characteristics, because of my wife has also Betawi tribe. We have a close relationship; we often have chat with the neighbours every day.

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT OF BETAWI COMMUNITY (The local community who stayed)		Code: LC-S-4
Date	11 December 2014	
Time/Duration	15.10-16.28 PM (1 hour 18 minutes)	
Name Interviewee	Suparmi	
Sex	Female	
Age	46 years old	
Occupation	Housemaid	
Address	Jl. Asem Gede 2 RT 4 RW 5 No.15 Utan Kayu Selatan	

1. Does is this your own house? House status? Housing wide?

Previously this is my parents' house; they live in this house since 1929. Actually, my parents had other houses; some of the houses had distributed to the children, and the remained was sold to the newcomer. This is the last property of my parents. This house wide is 200 m² and occupies by 6 persons; my father and my family (my husband and my three kids).

One of my young brothers was sold the house and moved to Cikarang where the kampong close to his wife family. Yet, he still comes to Kramat Asem every day to work. He works as *ojek* (motorcycle taxis driver). He said that it is easier to get money as motorcycle taxis driver in Kramat Asem than works another job di Cikarang. It takes 1 hour or more to reach the kampong from his house (from Cikarang to Kramat Asem) by a motorcycle.
2. What improvement did you already done to your house? Do you use your own money/ lend from somebody or bank/get from your parents/government support to renovate your house?

I have not yet any house renovation. I do not have money to improve my house. In 2000, my husband developed this simple small stall (located in front of the house and made from the wood-semi permanent building) and I started to sell some snacks and drinks. I can use the money from this business to fulfill our daily needs (helps my husband to fulfill all of the family needs).
3. What kind of government support for the community to improve their house and environment?

In 2009 when the presidential election held, one of the political parties was improved the kampong street. For water supply network, previously I used wells, and then changed into pump wells. When I utilized the pump wells, the water quality was not good (smelled and unclear) and the quantity was few. And now, I used artesian wells.

While for waste infrastructure, I asked the private institution to take the garbage. The garbage is hauling twice a week and I have to pay the premium 20.000 rupiahs per month.
4. Where do you go for shopping to fulfill your daily needs? For your secondary needs? How many times do you go for shopping both daily needs and secondary needs?

I go to the traditional market once a week. Not only to buy the family needs, but also to buy my stall needs. Sometimes I also went to a grocery center to buy clothes and other secondary goods such as a hand phone, yet it is very rare (not always once a month).

Previously, I worked as an individual laundry worker. I washed my neighbour clothes (her neighbour is the newcomer from Batak tribe). I was paid 300.000 rupiahs per month to wash all of his family clothes. I took the clothes twice a week. After I had given birth my

second kid, my husband asked me to stop my job as an individual laundry worker. My husband asked me to concern with the kids. Then, he made this stall to give me another activity and also help him to get money.

My friend who worked the same job with me as an individual laundry worker for the newcomer told me that worked with the newcomer was very helpful. She worked for the newcomer from Padang (Wiwik). Mrs. Wiwik supported the education for my friend's kid. She gave some money to buy some books, uniforms, and other school needed.

5. Where do you go if you or one of your family sick? Do you have any insurance?

I went to the *Puskesmas* (the public health centre) when my family or I sick. When the disease was quite serious, I met the doctor. I used my own money to pay the doctor. My family and I do not have the Jakarta Health Card, because of the head of the kampung did not register us. Now, my family used the public health insurance (BPJS).

6. Where is your kids' school location? Why do you choose that school?

My kids are schooling in the public elementary school in this sub-district. As a public school, I do not have to pay the tuition (free), my kids have also lent some books as references for free.

7. Do you always participate in every culture activities in your place? As what? Does your neighbour also participate in every activity?

Cultural activities in this kampung are very limited. Everybody is busy with their job. I usually attend the Moslem recitation in the mosque once a month.

8. How is your relation with your neighbour?

I have a good relationship with my neighbours. Yet, I feel some differences in the neighbourhood; increasing of housing density, many Betawi families sold the inherited house and moved to Jakarta peripheral area. Some of them live in the same kampung in the peripheral. So they can live together with all of their extended family, yet not in their land of birth or in the "new place".

I also have a good relationship with the newcomer; I ever worked as their labour.

I accept and understand related to their presence in this kampung; when they cannot attend and participate in any community meeting. They spend the day at the office; they have a hectic day and tired so they prefer to stay at home than have any conversation with the neighbours.

As a result, the kinship among communities decreases, particularly with the newcomer.

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT OF BETAWI COMMUNITY (The local community who stayed)		Code: LC-S-5
Date	12 Decemner 2014	
Time/Duration	16.10-17.40 PM (1 hour 30 minutes)	
Name Interviewee	Aseng	
Sex	Male	
Age	44 years old	
Occupation	Home-industry businessman (a welder)	
Address	Jl. Asem Timur RT 6 RW 5 No.21 Utan Kayu Selatan	

1. Does is this your own house? House status? Housing wide?
I live in this house since I was born. This house is inherited from my parent for me and my third sisters. Having wide 100 m² and occupies by 10 persons. My siblings and I agree to live together in this house, because if we sell the house and divide the money to all of us, the money will not enough to buy a new house for each of us. We also have not had yet the legal certificate for the land; the proof of the land ownership in the form of confirmation letter which signed by the head of the sub-district which clarify this land is belong to our family.
2. What improvement did you already done to your house? Do you use your own money/ lend from somebody or bank/get from your parents/government support to renovate your house?
Since I have a small mechanic workshop, I renovated the house to have a broad space. We renovated the house from one floor into two floors with material from the board. I utilize the first floor as my workshop. Besides, my wife has also occupied the first floor to sell some traditional food in a small stall.
3. What kind of government support for the community to improve their house and environment?
The government DKI Jakarta Province has not given yet any assistance. The support came from the political party when the presidential election to improve the street; such the better street condition in front of my house.
For water supply network, I used artesian wells which have a good quality of the water. While waste infrastructure, I pay 25.000 rupiahs per month to a private institution which hauling the garbage twice a week.
My neighbourhood does not have a good drainage system; the drainage does not connect each other. When the rainy season, there is always flood in the street in front of my house. It needs several hours to overcome the flood.
4. Where do you go for shopping to fulfill your daily needs? For your secondary needs? How many times do you go for shopping both daily needs and secondary needs?
My family fulfills the daily from the vegetable stall in the kampung. They were to go the traditional market. While my wife three times a week went to the traditional market to fulfill her food stall. My wife sells the Betawi traditional foods. The costumers are our neighbours; most of the buyers are Betawi people, while newcomer is very rare buy some food from my wife stall. Another buyer is people who pass the street.

5. Where do you go if you or one of your family sick? Do you have any insurance?
My family and I have registered to the public health insurance (BPJS) since one year ago. So when we get sick, we go to the doctor who considered as BPJS' doctor. We went to the hospital when the medicine from the doctor did not cure the disease. We do not have The Jakarta Health Card because the head of the kampong did not register us. I do not know the reason why our family did not the card.
6. Where is your kids' school location? Why do you choose that school?
My kids are schooling in the public elementary school. It is free of tuition fee. Although it's free, some of my Betawi neighbours do not send their kids to the school. Most of Betawi parents in my surround have 5-6 kids and these kids are school dropout. The parents think that school is not an important thing, because having graduated from senior or junior high school does not guarantee they can get god job. Some of them send to the kids to the school, yet they drop out in the second grade of elementary school. The kids did not want to go to school; they prefer to play. Their parents do nothing; they do not want to push the kids to go to school.
7. Do you always participate in every culture activities in your place? As what? Does your neighbour also participate in every activity?
In kampong Kramat Asem, there are not any cultural activities anymore since the presence of the newcomer.
8. How is your relation with your neighbour?
I have a good relationship with my neighbours who mostly are Betawi people. We often have chat in front of my house. My neighbours do not have a permanent job; they have money when the newcomer or others asked their help. To fulfill their daily needs, they depend on the other people help (assistance), or they owe to their neighbour stall or they lend some money to the individual moneylenders with a high interest. Therefore many cases which Betawi people owe to the individual moneylenders than these people cannot afford to pay it. Then they sold the house to pay the debt, or their house was confiscated by the moneylenders.
My neighbours who are newcomer do not have any interaction with us. They also forbid their kids to have any conversation our kids. Neighbours that they know have the only person who lives in front of their house.

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT OF BETAWI COMMUNITY (The local community who displaced)		Code: LC-D-1
Date	19 December 2014	
Time/Duration	18.45-20.00 PM (1 hour 15 minutes)	
Name Interviewee	Nana Suryana (my mother-in-law' young brother)	
Sex	Male	
Age	48 years old	
Occupation	Engineer in a residential developer	
Address	Kampong Pondok Blimbing Rt 3 Rw 4 Jurangmangu Barat Pondok Aren, Tangerang	

1. When did you move from Kampong Kramat Asem? Why did you sell your house? How much did you sell (Rp/m²)?

After I married in 1994, my wife and I lived in a rented house in the New Kebayoran where located close to my workplace. Actually, I had a house from my parents, yet it was still rented by another people. My wife and I wanted to have an independent life, so we decided to stay in our house (even it's a rented house). We stayed in the rented house only 4 months. Then we moved to our own house. I lived nearby with my eighth sisters. Yet, after they married, they moved out from this kampong. They sold the house which gave by our parents; each of us got a house or a parcel of land (70-80 m² per house).

Living in Kramat Asem (East of Jakarta) was away from my workplace in Bintaro (South of Jakarta) made me start thinking about moving. It took 3 hours to reach my office from my house; I must change the public transport three times. In a day, I need six hours to travel. Besides, I want to have a broader house; the housing density in the kampong made me felt uncomfortable. Then, I started to offer my house to the newcomer. In 2000, one of the newcomers (a lawyer) bought my house. My house wide was 75 m² and priced 80 million rupiahs. All of the land certificate requirements were managed by the lawyer as a buyer.

2. Why do you choose the new place for living? How much the land price?

Actually, my wife and I had already looked for many vacant land and houses which offered. Yet, none of them were suits with our affordability (our money) and our preference. I chose to stay in this kampong (Pondok Blimbing) because of the location close to my workplace. Moreover, the land price was affordable. The land wide is 100 m² and the price was 120.000 per m². I used the remained money to build the house.

At the first time reside, this kampong was yet many of the inhabitants, difficult to access school, the traditional market, and hospital. If we wanted to use public transport, we must walk out approximately 1 km. It was not easy for us to live in this kampong. But, we did not have any options; this land was the only affordable.

3. Does is this your own house? House status? Housing wide?

Oohh...this is my own house. I bought this house in 2000, and it has 100 m². In 2007, another land behind my house was for sale. Alhamdulillah, we afford to buy it. Then I built "the new kitchen" for my wife. My wife has a small business in pastry, cake, and other cuisines so she needed a broader kitchen.

In 2011, a parcel of land behind my "new kitchen" had also for sale. The owner (my neighbour) needed money to buy a car so he sold the land. Alhamdulillah, I had also afforded to buy it. I use the land to grow some vegetables (spinach, tomato, and chilli) and

some fruits (banana, mango, avocado, and grapes). Therefore, now my land wide is 350 m² in total.

4. From whom do you get information about this new place?

One of my office colleagues had been living in this kampong. He has already stay for three years in this kampong. He informed me that a parcel of land beside his house was for sale. Then my wife and I saw the land (the wide, the location, and the price) and we agreed to buy it.

5. Do you still do your previous culture in your new place? Do you always participate in every culture activities in your place? As what?

Most of my neighbours are Javanese people. Likewise, my wife has also Javanese. Therefore, I have already known their characteristics, no any conflict among us. I have participated in some community activities which held on the weekend, while activities which conducted in the weekday mostly I skipped. Betawi culture could not found here because the inhabitants were mostly non-Betawi people. My wife has also participated in some community activities; she has actively in *posyandu* program as a cadre.

6. What improvement did you already done to your house?

I bought the land in the form of *Kasiba* (ready to build lots). Therefore I did not have to bury the ground, just built the house foundation (basis). Since the first time this house built, I have not yet renovate it. The main renovation that I made was in my kitchen and my backyard.

7. What kind of government support for the community to improve their house and environment?

Neighbourhood improvement was funded by the community. Each household paid the monthly premium to the head of the kampong. Then we used the money to improve the street, build the badminton court, and as a reserve fund. All of the communities were willing to pay the premium because they knew the benefit from the kampong development. In the 2009, when the presidential election held, one of the political parties gave support to improve main kampong street.

Water supply demand is utilized jet pump wells; while for waste infrastructure we used a private institution service.

8. Where do you go for shopping to fulfill your daily needs? For your secondary needs? How many times do you go for shopping both daily needs and secondary needs?

My wife bought the daily needs from the vegetable vendors who passed in front of my house every day. The traditional market located far from my house. We went to the traditional market once a week or on once in two weeks. We bought our need for a week such as a basket chicken, fresh meat, and many vegetables. Then my wife kept it in the freezer. The goods price at the traditional market was cheaper than at the vegetable vendors. We went to supermarket or mall very rarely; only if we need to buy shoes, clothes, etc.

9. Where do you go if you or one of your family sick? Do you have any insurance?

I have a health insurance from my office by using reimburse system. When I met the doctor, I paid the doctor and the medicine by my own money. Then I gave the receipt to the office and they reimburse it. Usually, we observe the level of the disease. If we got

cold, or fever, or caught, I bought a generic medicine at the drugstore. When there was not any changed, we went the doctor at the clinic, not to a hospital.

10. Where is your kids' school location? Why do you choose that school?

I have two kids; my first daughter has already at the university level, while my young son is in the senior high school level. Their school is located in this district, so they can reach the school by the public transport. They had also subscribed to motorcycles taxi driver when in the elementary school level. Sometimes, my son used a motorcycle to go to school. Even he does not have yet a driving license; I still feel secure, because the distance quite closest to our house.

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT OF BETAWI COMMUNITY (The local community who displaced)		Code: LC-D-2
Date	20 December 2014	
Time/Duration	18.10-19.21 (1 hour 11 minutes)	
Name Interviewee	Sri Rejati (one of my mother-in-law families)	
Sex	Female	
Age	55 years old	
Occupation	Elementary school lecturer	
Address	Kampong Curug Bekasi	

1. When did you move from Kampong Kramat Asem? Why did you sell your house? How much did you sell (Rp/m²)?

After my parents were retired, they sold their house in Kramat Asem in 1989. Then they used the money to go to holy land (for hajj), and the remaining money was used to buy broad land here in Bekasi and built 6 tenements. My parents run their life from rented the tenements. All of these tenements gave to the children after they passed away. While my other siblings who did not get the tenements, gave fresh money to pay school tuition (the university level) and held their children married ceremony. Moreover, I sold my house in Kramat Asem because I wanted the broader house than my previous house/
2. Why do you choose the new place for living? How much the land price?

Before I reside here, my aunty and one of my sisters have already lived here. Then, in 1990, a parcel of land nearby my sister house was for sale. My sister asked me to buy the land and live close to her. Likewise, my husband (Java tribe) had also agreed to stay here. Based on Javanese local wisdom that a marriage couple has to stay separately from the parents, even has to stay in rented house. Therefore, in 1990 I bought this land to raise my kids.
3. Does is this your own house? House status? Housing wide?

At the first time, I bought this land by credit. I paid the down payment by money from my parents. My house wide is 330 m² and it was priced 8,5 million rupiahs. This is my own house, and I have already got the legal certificate for the land.
4. From whom do you get information about this new place?

I got information about this place from my aunty and my sister. I love to reside in a place where my family stays. Therefore, I chose to live here. Besides, this location has a good accessibility, although it is located in a narrow alley.

After our family house in Kramat Asem was sold, one of my old sisters moved to another kampong in the south of Jakarta. She lived for 5 years in that kampong with her husband and the kids (from 1990 to 1995). Yet, she felt uncomfortable with her new neighbour, a new lifestyle, and live apart from her family. In 1996, a parcel of land in this kampong was for sale. I was offering her to buy the land, and she agreed. Then, in 1997 she moved here and closed with all of the family.
5. Do you still do your previous culture in your new place? Do you always participate in every culture activities in your place? As what?

Most of the inhabitants in this kampong are my family so that we have the same cultural activities. Yet, we are rare to have Betawi's cultural activities because of financial

constraint. Only in a certain moment, we adopt Betawi's culture, like in wedding ceremony. We still give *Buaya* (crocodile) bread to the bride, household appliances such as a bed, cupboard, etc. All of these traditions are conducted when our children get married to the same Betawi people, while they married to a person from other tribes we adjust and compromise.

6. What improvement did you already done to your house?

In 1990, I built this house for my family with 3 bedrooms, kitchen, and two bathrooms. In 2009, my old daughter had married. My husband and I asked her to stay in this house after she married. At the first time, she was refused because she wanted to have independence life (with her husband). Finally, I utilized vacant land in the front of my house (the yard) and built "a small house" for my old daughter "new family". This small house only has a bedroom, kitchen, a bathroom and multifunction room (as a dining room or as a living room). That was a significant housing renovation I made. The remaining renovation was a small scale, such as renovate the kitchen and the bathrooms.

7. What kind of government support for the community to improve their house and environment?

At the first time I resided in this kampong, the appearance looked slum; no water supply network, no waste infrastructure, and poor street quality. There was no any government support to improve the neighbourhood quality. To overcome water supply problem, I used jet pump well. While some of my neighbours chose to buy clean water from some people who sold clean water can. On the other hand, to handle waste, I used waste composer. My neighbours, including my sisters and my aunty, choose to ask the private institution to haul the garbage. This private waste institution rents a parcel of land in this kampong and used this location as a temporary landfill. The institution must pay some money to the landlord. Then the truck will haul the garbage to the final landfill. To get this service, my neighbours must pay 25 thousand rupiahs each month.

Whereas street quality is still poor and always flood every rainy season. Previously, this street was improved by a political party in 2004 when the presidential election. Likewise, the government supported the street improvement once in 2009. We can access the support because one of the inhabitants here is work as a civil servant. Then we asked him to get the assist from his office. After that, there is no any support to improve the street until now.

8. Where do you go for shopping to fulfill your daily needs? For your secondary needs? How many times do you go for shopping both daily needs and secondary needs?

I have to go work every day so that I often go shopping to the traditional market once a week. I buy many vegetables, fruit, meat, eggs, fish, and the ingredients for a week needed. I go to window shopping in mall rarely, once a month or more, like once for two months. Usually, I buy clothes, shoes and household appliances in mall or a centre grocery.

9. Where do you go if you or one of your family sick? Do you have any insurance?

As a civil servant, I have a public health insurance (BPJS) which the premium is taken from my monthly income directly (auto debit system). Yet, I rare to use this insurance, it quite difficult to get the insurance; many procedures and take time so long. Therefore, I prefer to use insurance from my husband office (her husband worked in one of private that use reimburses system. It is easier to get the insurance than public insurance.

10. Where is your kids' school location? Why do you choose that school?
I have two kids and all of them were schooled in a public school since elementary to the senior high school level. The school location is close to my house and no any tuition fee. Now, my old daughter has already married, while my young boy is not married yet. He works in a private office.
11. If your kids have already worked, where is her/his office location?
My daughter has two kids so that she chooses to stay at home to take cares the kids, whereas my boy works in Jakarta. He rides a motorcycle to go the workplace.

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT OF GENTRIFIER (Long-term gentrifier)		Code: G-LT-1
Date	6 December 2014	
Time/Duration	09.05-10.57AM (1 hour 52 minutes)	
Name Interviewee	Ali Basir	
Sex	Male	
Age	85 years old	
Occupation	Civil servant retirement	
Address	Jl. Asem Gede 1 RT 5 RW 5 No.3 Utan Kayu Selatan	

- Does is this your own house? House status? Housing wide?
This is my own house and I have already had the legal certificate for the land. My housing wide is 120 m²
- What improvement did you already done to your house?
I bought the land in the form of *KASIBA* (ready to build lots). So, after I paid for the land, I started to build the house. It took almost 1 year to finish this house. I did not have any renovation since the first time. The housing style still persisted from the first time. Likewise, the internal interior has also still the same. I had a small-scale renovation such as roof renovation, kitchen, and bathroom improvement, and repainting the house periodically.
- What kind of government support for the community to improve their house and environment?
The second year I resided in this kampung (1987), I was chosen as a leader of *RT* (a community leader). As the kampung leader, I had discussed with several persons related to kampung improvement. At that moment, the appearance of the kampung looks like a slum area; a poor street condition with many holes and flooded when its rain, a poor drainage infrastructure, garbage heaps everywhere, no water supply network, and no waste infrastructure. On the other hand, there was a highway development in front of the kampung by the government. Then we made a proposal to ask support from the highway contractor. They agreed to give an assist to improve the street quality. They used leftover asphalt from the highway construction to improve the kampung street.
I used artesian wells for the clean water needs because of the water quality and the quantity better than water supply from the government. After the water network infrastructure which provided by the government reach this kampung, I did not register or not shift the wells with government supply.
Related to waste infrastructure, I have also used a waste private institution service. I must pay the premium 40.000 rupiahs per month.
- Why do you choose to live in this neighbourhood? When did you move here?
I reside in this kampung since 1986. I bought the land here because of the location and the price. The kampung located in the inner-city and close to my workplace. My office

was in Cikini that took 20 minutes from this kampung by public transport. If compared to other places in the inner-city area, the land price in this kampung cheaper.

5. Where was your previous house (the location)?
I am originally come from Jepara, whereas my wife came from Kebumen. After I got a job as a civil servant (a staff) at the Ministry of Health the Republic of Indonesia, I moved to Jakarta with my wife. Previously, we lived in Jepara in my parents' house.
6. Had you ever stay in others places before you stay here? Where? Rent/your own house?
At the first time I arrived in Jakarta, I stayed in a rented house in this kampung with my wife for one year. Then I bought the land and built this house. Yet, 1990 I was moved to Depok. I got a parcel of land subsidized by my office. Based on the regulation of my office, a person who got the land must occupy it. If not occupied (vacant), the land will ask back by my office. I lived in Depok less than 1 year then moved back to this kampung. It was because of the distance from my house in Depok to my office in Cikini really far. Even though it facilitated with a regional train, I must leave the home very early (5 AM) to avoid the traffic jam. I decided to sell my land in Depok.
7. How did you know about this house? How did you get information about this place? Housing price (Rp/m²)?
I lived in this kampung since 1986. I got information about the land which for sale in this kampung from my friend. He had already stayed in this kampung. I bought the land from Betawi people (he was a landlord who occupied a broad land in this kampung) which priced 7 million rupiahs (120 m²).
8. How many numbers of people who live in your house?
I live in this house with my wife; we do not have any kids. Sometimes my nephew or my wife niece stays in my house for several years. When they took a university level at Jakarta, they stay here. They did not live in a boarding house to save the money.
9. Where do you go for shopping to fulfill your daily needs? For your secondary needs? How many times do you go for shopping both daily needs and secondary needs?
My wife went to the traditional market twice a week to fulfill our daily needs. Yet, at this moment we prefer to shop at the vegetable stall near our house than go to the traditional market. We are getting older so we have not able to walk away.
10. Where do you go if you or one of your family sick? Do you have any insurance?
As a civil servant, I registered in the public health insurance. It is obligatory for all civil servants to register in this insurance.
11. Do you know what kind of cultural activities in this place? Have you participated in those activities?
I was mandated as the community leader for almost 20 years (from 1986 to 2005). I have also chosen as a mosque committee. At that moment, all of the community committee and a mosque committee was a newcomer. While now the situation changed, all of these committees are the local community (Betawi people) because of the medium-term newcomer busy with their job. They have also tended to permissive to the others. While I and other long-term newcomers have got old, and we prefer to stay at home than have many activities in the community.

Before 2000, when the number of newcomers was still fewer than the local community, we had a strong kinship. Yet, it changes after the number of the local community decreased significantly.

Somehow I felt uncomfortable stay with the community with a different lifestyle. As a general perception related to Betawi people that they have characteristics such as talking loud, have to chat with others, sometimes rude, have many kids. Many children in here play all day in the street, even in the prayer time and at the midnight. Many kids were less education and impolite. I just tried to accept and understand their characteristic to avoid any conflicts. Some of the newcomers did not allow their kids to play with the local community children. They afraid that their kids will be influenced the negative habits, such as roughly speaking and impolite to other people.

My wife is asking help from the woman of the local community to clean the house, wash and ironed our clothes. Until now, we still asked her help to work with us.

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT OF GENTRIFIER (The medium-term gentrifier)		Code: G-MT-2
Date	20 December 2014	
Time/Duration	08.03-09.48 AM (1 hour 45 minutes)	
Name Interviewee	Zulkifli (Padang or Minang tribe)	
Sex	Male	
Age	45 years old	
Occupation	Lawyer	
Address	Jl. Asem Gede 2 RT 4 RW 5 No. 7 Utan Kayu Selatan	

- Does is this your own house? House status? Housing wide?
Oh ya...of course this is my own house. This house wide is 74 m². When I bought this land in 2010, there was no land certificate. The land ownership proof was in the form of grant letter from the parents (as the first owner) to the children (as the present owner) which signed by the head of the sub-district. Now, I changed the letter into the reference letter that also signed by the head of the sub-district.
- What improvement did you already done to your house?
I bought the Betawi old house (Suryana's house). Then I demolished the house and changed into the new one. I prefer to have modern style than old fashion style. I built the house with two floors because I thought the house wide is very narrow. I want each of my daughter (I have two daughters) have their own bedroom, so I put their room on the second floor. While my room has resides on the first floor.
I have another house; behind my house, it is my second house. I bought the house from the Betawi people. Then, I demolished the old house and changed into some rented rooms. The rented rooms equipped with the air conditioner, a small kitchen and a small living room. The rented price is 1,5 million per month and the renter must be rented at least 1 year. If there was some damaged, I fixed it.
The renter was employee of some offices that located in front of the kampung. Most of them were young families with one child under five years old.
I think this is a prospective business so that I will buy another house for develop this business in the future.
- What kind of government support for the community to improve their house and environment?
There was no any significant support from the government to improve this kampung. Most of the funds to improve the kampung came from us, the community. We (the medium-term gentrifier) had a regular contribution (money) to the kampung which the amount has bigger than the local community contribution. The amount of contribution was determined by the head of the kampung and the head of sub-district, whereas the local community's contribution was determined by the private institution.
The money (contribution) used to improve the trash can, replace the damaged mosque lamp, repainting the mosque, etc.
Most of us (the medium-term gentrifier) used water supply network from the government (PAM), yet we still had artesian wells.

4. Why do you choose to live in this neighbourhood? When did you move here?
 My wife and I originally came from Padang, West Sumatra. After graduated from the university, we looked for a job in Jakarta. In our principle (Minang people's principle), if we want to be a success person (rich person) we must dare to go to wander. Then we got a job in Jakarta.
 Previously, in 2008, my wife and I lived in a rented house in the west part of the kampung. We choose to stay in this kampung because of we have high mobility. Therefore, we need a place with high accessibility, and no jammed. I got information about the rented house in this kampung from my friend.
5. How did you know about this house? How did you get information about this place? Housing price (Rp/m²)?
 One of my neighbours in the rented house told me that one of the houses in the east part of the kampung was for sale. The owner was Betawi people, and he sold the house because he wanted to move near his workplace. I bought his house 80 million rupiahs.
6. How many numbers of people who live in your house?
 I live here with my nucleus family; my wife and my two daughters. One of my families (my niece) from Padang has also stayed here. She helped me to take cares my kids and helped my wife to clean the house, cooked and others.
7. Where do you go for shopping to fulfill your daily needs? For your secondary needs? How many times do you go for shopping both daily needs and secondary needs?
 My niece who helped my wife to cook has shopping in the vegetable vendors who passed in front of my house every day. But, my wife bought some daily needs such as rice, meat, chicken, instant noodles and other groceries at the supermarket. She did not want to buy meat and chicken were not fresh in the traditional market. We often go to the restaurant once a week.
 While for secondary needs, we went to a mall; we had window shopping at the mall every week.
 When our family have a long holiday, we went to abroad such as to Singapore, Malaysia, and other Asian countries. Sometimes we just felt bored to have a vacation in domestic sites. Moreover, I had also wanted my kids have a new experience by having vacation abroad.
8. Where do you go if you or one of your family sick? Do you have any insurance?
 I had registered all of my family to the private health insurance. I prefer to choose the private health insurance than the public health insurance (BPJS). It is well known that the service of the BPJS does not sophisticated yet. Many administrative procedures and requirements are needed to get the insurance. It really takes time, while I do not much time to handle it. When my kids sick, I take them to the Pediatric at the hospital.
9. Do you know what kind of cultural activities in this place? Have you been participated in those activities?
 I was very seldom to join any community activities here; I spent my day at the office. Likewise, my wife and my kids did not attend any activities. My wife was busy with her job as a civil servant at the district attorney of Jakarta, whereas my kids had many activities at school and some courses. I prefer to send my kids to some course than stay at home. They get home from school at 3 PM, and then they take the course in the evening. I feel worried when my kids play with the local community's kids. I do not want

my kids to receive the negative attitude from their interaction with the local community's kids; these kids often say rude words, lack of manners, and play at the street side all day.

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT OF THE GOVERNMENT		Code: GOV-1
Date	7 December 2014	
Time/Duration	08.25-09.30 AM (1 hour 5 minutes)	
Name Interviewee	R. Yakub	
Sex	Male	
Age	55 years old	
Occupation	Head of Utan Kayu Selatan sub-district	
Address	JL. Galur Sari Timur, No. 1, Utan Kayu Selatan, Matraman	

1. What kind of government development policies or programs has already done in the neighbourhood? Please explain!

All of the program that conducted by the sub-district government in accordance with DKI Jakarta Province program. At this moment, the government emphasizes on the improvement of some infrastructures such as waste and drainage infrastructures. Some rivers were normalized to overcome flood that occurred every year. Besides, the government had also concerned to home provision especially for poor people and people who reside in the riverbanks. They had evicted and displaced to some flats. The government wants to create Jakarta to be more humane and provides facilities for all of the people.

Emphasizing to kampong Kramat Asem, it is located in the accessible location. Therefore, many newcomers want to reside in this kampong. There was no any specific development program for this kampong because the kampong did not include as a priority kampong to be improved. The priority kampong is a kampong which has a specific characteristic such as a heritage kampong, kampong with a high number of poor people, etc. Moreover, the government concerned to develop some flat in slum kampong to improve the neighbourhood quality. It was not suited to the conditions of the kampong to build flat. Likewise, this kampong has occupied by many newcomers who had contributed to the kampong improvement.

2. What is government's development plans related to the neighbourhood?

All of our programs are related to the province government program. We cannot execute any programs by ourselves because it needs money to run some programs. The money came from the province government. So, if we want to be funded by the province government, we must adjust the development program to the province government goals.

3. How does the private developers role in the neighbourhood development?

There was not any significant role from the private developers to improve the neighbourhood. They provided assistance at the certain situation; they supported the mosque improvement when the Eid, repainted the community meeting hall when the Independence Day celebration.

4. What kind of neighbourhood improvement activities that have been done?

Previously, the kampong street was a land and no asphalt pavement. Every rain seasons, the street became muddy. In 1976, there was a street improvement. Yet, it was only the main street of the kampong. When the central government built the highway which passed in front of the kampong, head of the kampong asked the highway contractor to contribute to the kampong street improvement. The sub-district government has

facilitated the meeting. Then, the highway contractor agreed to improve the street by using the residual asphalt.

The sub-district government had also contributed to drainage improvement. The main drainage was adjusted and connected to others.

In 1995, the government was provided water supply network (PAM). Yet, the user was limited because of the water quality was bad and smelled. Likewise, the community was familiar to utilize water from artesian wells.

5. Please explain about community participation in the neighbourhood development, such as improvement of infrastructures and facilities!

Mobilizing community in the kampong improvement was not easy. The community contribution in the improvement is very important; not only to succeed the program but also to raise the sense of belongingness. The first step was convinced the Betawi people as the local community about the benefits of the program and how important their role. Next, they should be given the role model first, and then they continued the role model. The government involved the community leader in any programs so that the community can participate actively.

6. Is there any support from the government to community related with the housing improvement?

The housing improvement relied on the affordability of the community. Nowadays, the government has many programs for improving the house, so that they can access the assistance.

7. Do the government's urban development program and policies influence the community and neighbourhood? Please explain!

Many government programs in some neighbourhood improvement were failed. It was due to the lack of the community participation in the programs. Therefore, the impact of the development was not significant. Yet, the presence of the newcomer in the kampong shaped the neighbourhood differently. They came from some cities in Indonesia, they also had dissimilar characteristics. Not only positive influence but also negative influence was adopted by the local community.

8. How do you think about community relationship among Betawi community and newcomer in this district?

Since the 1990s, the number of newcomers increased significantly. Yet, there was not any conflict among the community. Some cases or conflict have appeared between the local communities, such as business competition, conflict among families related to inherited assets, etc. Yet, the young newcomer had less participated in some community meeting every month. As a result, the community leader came to their house and asked why they did not attend the meeting. After attended by the community leader, they still did not join the meeting. They just gave some money for the regular dues.

9. Is there any government effort in order to handle the negative influence?

We have a regular meeting to discuss development, economic condition, and community relationship. In each kampong has also held a regular *pengajian* to mobilize the community.

10. Can you explain some indigenous cultures that still exist until now!

Some Betawi's culture was started to distinct, such as *lenong* Betawi (a Betawi traditional drama performance), *tanjidor* (a Betawi traditional music performance), *jipeng* (one of Betawi's traditional dance), etc. Betawi people spent their day on working; to fulfill their daily needs. Moreover, conducting all of these performances need much money. While most of Betawi people live under poverty line.

In kampong Kramat Asem, there is *rebana* group. The musical instruments for *rebana* were supported by the RW. All of the community can join to this group, not only the local community but also the newcomer. The member must pay 10.000 rupiahs every month to pay the *rebana* teacher. This group usually perform in Betawi wedding celebration, *sunatan*, *mitoni*. They paid some money from the person who invited them.

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIVATE DEVELOPER		Code: PD-1
Date	21 December 2014	
Time/Duration	10.00-10.55 AM (55 minutes)	
Name Interviewee	Sonny W.	
Sex	Male	
Age	49 years old	
Occupation	Area Manager of East Jakarta	
Address	Jl. A. Yani No.36 Utan Kayu Selatan Matraman	

1. Why do you choose invest in this location?

We resided in this area since 2001. We had our branch office in this location because the site had a good accessibility; it had a good connection of the public transportation, and along with the highway. At that moment, we had information about the land which for sale. The previous owner was a Betawi people. He wanted to move to other kampung because he felt uncomfortable with the situation; new neighbours which mostly from other tribes that had different culture, none of whom that he knew.

Not only because a good accessibility, but also a good price so had we chosen to buy the land.

Compared with other potential locations in inner city and on the edge of the main road, this site had a lower price than others. Moreover, this location had also free flood.
2. Is there any support from the community and government in your investment?

We built this office by the central office fund. Therefore there was not any support from the government related to the fund. The government support was in the form of ease of licensing. The community was doing nothing related to the office development. Yet, some of our employee stayed in the kampung in the some rented houses and some rented rooms.
3. Is there any problems related with the implementation of your projects?

There was some vandalism action which damaging our office. We did not want to accuse to some community related to that action. Therefore, we have many CCTV (closed-circuit television) in some places in this office to supervise the activities inside and outside the office.

We contributed to the kampung by giving some money in a certain moment such as when the Independence Day celebration, the Eid, etc.

Academic Background of the Author

Santy Paulla Dewi

06.03.2017	Defense of the doctoral dissertation "Gentrification Process in DKI Jakarta Province, Indonesia" Published in June, 2017, TU Darmstadt
2007-2013	Teaching and researcher on the Urban and Regional Design Laboratory, University of Diponegoro, Indonesia
2005-2007	Master Degree in Development Studies (M.T) (Bandung Institute of Technology, Indonesia. Thesis title: Public perception of his residence in Kelurahan Bandarharjo Semarang
2004-2005	Teaching and researcher on the Urban and Regional Design Laboratory, University of Diponegoro, Indonesia
1999-2003	Bachelor (S.T) in Department of Urban and Regional Planning (University of Diponegoro, Indonesia). Final exam title: User perceptions and preferences related to the integrated terminal in Semarang City
